

Archaeologia Cambrensis.

FIFTH SERIES.—VOL. IX, NO. XXXV.

JULY 1892.

DISCOVERY OF
BISHOP RICHARD DAVIES' MS. WELSH
VERSION OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES
AND OTHER DOCUMENTS.

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON THOMAS, F.S.A.

IN the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition, held in connection with the Church Congress at Rhyl, in October, last year, there was "lent by P. B. Davies-Cooke, Esq., of Gwysaney, Mold" (among other objects), this, "91 MS. in Welsh, Epistles of St. Paul," etc.

By Mr. Davies-Cooke's kind permission I was allowed to have it out of its glass case and look more closely at it. Time did not admit of a minute examination, but it sufficed to show that the volume was one of rare interest and value. Since then Mr. Davies-Cooke has very courteously enabled me to inspect it with greater leisure and minuteness, and I now write down the results.

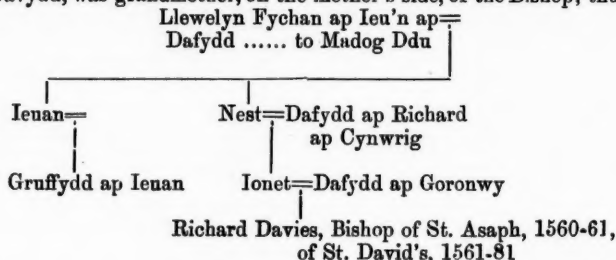
The volume has been half-bound (1891) in red morocco, under the direction of Mr. Maunde Thompson of the British Museum, and is a folio 12 ins. by 8 ins., with the title "The First Epistle to Timothy; Welsh." This was no doubt taken from that on the old parchment cover, but it is by no means an adequate index to the contents. The old title ran, "St. Paul's First Epistle to Timothy and 2 d", beneath which was

written in a later hand, "That to Titus and Philemon, No. 87." Below this was another number in brackets [25], with this explanatory note: "No. 25 on old cover refers to catalogue of library of Robert Davies, Esq., of Llanerch Park, near St. Asaph, and Gwysaney, near Mold." This note is important as it gives the clue to the history of the MS. contents; for Mr. Robert Davies was not only a learned antiquary and a great collector of books, but he was descended from that earlier owner of Llanerch who was an uncle of Bishop Richard Davies, and to whom the Bishop refers in his "Epistol at y Cembru" (Letter to the Welsh), prefixed to the New Testament of 1567, as the possessor of the Pentateuch in Welsh, the only portion of the Holy Scriptures he had ever seen in that language:—

"Yn lle gwir ni ffynnodd cenyf irioet gael gwelet y Bibl yn gymraeg: eithr pan oeddwn yn fachcen cof yw cenyf welet pump llyfr Moysen yn gymraeg o fewn tŷ ewythr¹ ym oedd wr dyscedig."

The contents of the volume comprise three different documents, each of singular interest, and all bearing on the same matter, viz.: (1) a bond for one hundred pounds signed by William Salesbury; (2) A fragment of a petition for the translation of the New Testament into Welsh; (3) the version of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, in the MS. of Bishop

¹ "Cyffelip mae Gruff. ap Ieun ap Lln. Vachan y mae ef yn ei veddwl." Nest, the daughter of Llewelyn Vychan ap Ieuan ap Davydd, was grandmother, on the mother's side, of the Bishop; thus



Richard Davies, co-translator with Salesbury and Huet of the first Welsh New Testament, 1567.

I. THE BOND.—This is written on parchment, and formed the old cover of the MS. translation. The first portion is in Latin, and gives the names of the several parties, with the residence and status of the borrower and his guarantors. The lender was "Thomas ap Rice Wyn, Gen'osus", the borrower, "Will'm Salesbury de Llansannan, Gen'osus". His guarantors were eight in number, and all of them neighbours, living within the same parish of Llansannan: *e.g.*, Petrus Salesbury de Penyglogor in com. p'dict. geno's; Ieuan ap John Pygot de Chwybren in com. p'dict. gen'os; Robertus ap John ap Llew. de Deynant in com. p'dict. yoman; Ludowicus ap Medd. Penenalet in com. p'dict. yoman; Lodowicus Vaughan ap Tudder de Deynant in com. p'dict. yoman; Meredd. ap Thomas de eadem in com. p'dict. yoman; Thomas ap Grono de eadem in com. p'dict. yoman; Hugo ap David ap John de eadem in com. p'dict. yoman. The last portion gives the conditions in English, and provides that "if the said William Salesbury pay and discharge the aforesaid one hundred pounds, then this obligation to be void."

Although there is abundance of room there is only one signature attached, that of "William Salesbury", and there are no seals whatever. On the back, just below the old title, with its note, are given the names of the witnesses, "Sigillat et de'bat' in presentia":—William Mestyn; Thomas ap Robert; Robert Middleton, Junr.; Gruff. ap dd. ap Engion; Will'm ap Ieu'n Lloyd; Et alior.; Mydd... Mr.; Gau. ap."

There are many points in this document that deserve notice, but the chief interest, of course, centres round William Salesbury. This eminent man was the grandson of Robert Salesbury (the fifth son of Thomas Salesbury Hen, and brother of Foulk Salesbury, Dean of St. Asaph, 1511-1543, of the powerful sept of Lleweni), who married Gwenhwyfar, the daughter of Rhys ap Einion Vychan, and heiress of Plas Isa in Llanrwst.

From a remark in his book on Botany, he must have been born at Caedu in Llansannan, for, speaking of a certain plant, he notes that he had "seen it growing in the meadow below the Hall of Meredydd ap Gronow, in Llansannan, the parish in which he was born."¹

He was educated at Oxford, and took to the law as a profession, but it is as a scholar and writer that he has won our admiration. Skilled in no less than nine languages, he has written largely on rhetoric and philology. His *Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* (A.D. 1547) was both the first book of its kind and the first of his own publications. In 1551 he published in Welsh *The Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and Holy Days of the Year*; and when the Bishops of the Welsh sees and Hereford were looking out for a competent editor for the New Testament they selected him for the post, and he appears to have occupied the same position with regard to the Welsh Prayer-Book. Both the books were published in the same year, 1567. He was, however, not only the editor, but the chief translator also of the New Testament, the portions attributed to him in the marginal notes comprising from the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel to the end of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, the Second Epistle to Timothy, those to Titus and Philemon, the three general Epistles of St. John, and that of St. Jude.

Although he has written so many books of such different kinds, I am not aware of any other autograph signature than the one here given, as traced from the bond:



The handwriting is peculiar. The Christian name resembles a monogram curiously devised, but the surname is written in a clear, well-finished hand, but with some of the letters stiff and angular.

¹ *Enwogion y Ffydd*, vol. i, p. 43. The Hall was that of Dyffryn Aled.

The amount of the bond may seem to some out of all proportion to the number and position of the guarantors, but it is necessary to bear in mind that it represents probably fifteen times the present value of that amount, and that ready money was a scarce commodity in those days. The readiness of so many neighbours to join in incurring such a liability argues well for the popularity of Salesbury and his work, especially when we remember that the date of the bond was "the 2nd of April, 7th Elizabeth", i.e., 1565, just two years before the publication of the Prayer Book and the New Testament; and from the date, combined with the subsequent use of the bond as a cover for the MS., we cannot doubt that it was incurred in connection with the expenses entailed by one or both of those undertakings. It is certain, however, that this could not have covered the whole expense of either book; and, indeed, it is stated at the end of each of them that it was "Imprinted at London, by Henry Denham, at the *costes and charges of Humphrey Toye*, dwelling in Paule's Churchyarde, at the signe of Helmet"; and in the Register of the Stationers' Company there occur, under the year July 22, 1566, to July 22, 1567, these two entries:—

"Toye. Recevyd of humffre Toye for his lycense for pryntinge of the servis boke in Welshe auctorysshed by my lorde of London iijs. iiijd.

"Toye. Recevyd of humffrey Toye for his lycense for pryntinge of the newe testament in Welshe xijd."¹

The colophon in both cases states that the licence conferred a monopoly "Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum". But while it specifies, with regard to the "Book of Common Prayer", that it was to be "sold at his shop at the sygne of the Helmet, in Paule's Churchyarde", and therefore we may conclude he was to refund himself by the sale of the book, there is no such provision with respect to the New Testament, and that therefore the five bishops (and perhaps William Sales-

¹ Ashton's *Bywyd ac Amserau yr Esgob Morgan*, 71.

bury), who were to fix the price of the book and see to its dissemination, were to be responsible to him for his outlay. The same rule applied later on to the publishing of the Bible in 1588.

It will have been observed that "William Salesbury" is described as of "Llansannan". "Caedu", in that parish, was part of the family inheritance, and probably fell to the lot of William as the second son, while his elder brother Robert succeeded to the larger mansion of Plas Isa in Llanrwst. The old house has been down for some years. It is said that there was in it a secret chamber that could only be approached through the chimney, and tradition has it that he was obliged to flee into this hiding-place to finish his work of translation, because of the persecution under Queen Mary. That there was such a secret chamber is in full accord with what existed in the houses of many, if not most of the gentry in that unsettled and troublous age, and that he used this chamber for the sake of its quiet and freedom from disturbance, for that purpose, is most likely. But that he was obliged to flee there to avoid the Marian persecution is untenable, inasmuch as his translation of the New Testament did not commence until some five years after that danger had been removed by the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth.

II. THE PETITION.—This is only a fragment, written on a large sheet of paper in a current, sprawling hand, in places difficult to decipher. It is not a commission ordering the thing to be done, as it seemed at first to be, but rather a petition urgently appealing that steps should be taken to consider the necessity, and suggesting a method of "traducting the boke of the Lorde's Testament into the vulgar Walsh tong". Unfortunately, the first part is missing, and there is nothing to indicate at what date or by whom it was written, or whether it was addressed to the Welsh Bishops in general or to Bishop Richard Davies, as the ablest Welsh scholar among them, and the one who showed the strongest

personal interest in the cause. It clearly had nothing to do with the order of Parliament, and it has no reference to the Old Testament. Indeed, from the composition one might conclude that it was a rough draft of an appeal rather than the actual petition. Nevertheless, it is of great interest for the grounds it alleges, for the suggestions it offers, and for the earnestness of its tone. It begins :—

"Agayne ther be a few other y^t wold sincerely pray and wth their hart to the uttermost of their ... power teache preach and declare Goddes Holy Worde unto the people in the vulgar Walsh tong that the prince of darknes might not altogether be like of his possession in every p^{ce}ll of Christ's Church."

It proceeds :—

"In consyderacon wherof it may please your good and graciouse lordship of your Christian love and godly pytyfulnes whom your good lordships ow and beare unto al the com'onwealth of all those that professe the name of Jesus Christ to provide not at the¹ godly reformacon in the premysses either by sendyng and calling for *the godlyest and best learned men in divinitie or knowledge of y^e holy scriptures of the Walsh tong* w'all whersoever in y^e whole Realme their habitacon or abydyng shall hap to be that the same at your good lordships wyll and com'andment may consult together what may be thought most expedient and what remedie most present for the expulsemment of both miserable darknes² of sooch miserable darknes for the lack of the shynyng lyght of Christes Gospell as yet styll remayneth among the inhabitantes of the same principalitie."

It concludes with the petition that—

"So if it shalbe thought requisite necessarie or convenient the said inhabitants ministered taught or preached unto in their vulgar understood tong to their better edificac'on then it may please your good lordships to wyll and require and com'and the learned men to *traduct the boke of the Lordes Testamente into the vulgar Walsh tong* so by such means as well the preachers themselves as also the multitude may be the together in dew knowledge of their Lordes good wyll."

¹ These three words, "not at the", should evidently be omitted.—D. R. T.

² Omit "of both miserable darknes".—D. R. T.

The points that chiefly strike one in the above are (1) the evidence it supplies of the great desire for a "vernacular version" of the Holy Word, and the great difficulty in the way of earnest, devoted ministers arising from the absence of such version; (2) the wise and practical course suggested—first to summon the most learned Welsh divines to consult together, and then, after deliberation, proceed to action; and (3) the greater facilities for preachers to fulfil their duty, and the "better edification" of the people, which resulted from carrying out this object by the Bishop and Salesbury in 1567, and still more by the subsequent edition of the whole Bible by Dr. William Morgan in 1588.

III. THE WELSH VERSION OF THE FOUR EPISTLES.—

This forms the body of the volume, and is its most important feature. It consists of ten folios of stout paper, and is written on both sides in a clear, strong, and well-formed hand. The heading runs "Y Pistyl Ky'taf i Pawl at Tymothiws"; and just above it, in a larger and more recent hand, the note, "Tyniad a llaw Doctor Ric. Davies, Esgop Mynyw"; that is, "The translation and hand of Dr. Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's." This, again, is repeated more definitely in the same handwriting, at the bottom of the page, thus :—

"Tro yr ddalen a darllen rhagot	}	Cembreigiad ac escrife Llaw Esgob Dav... yw'r dec Dalen hyn ys.. yma iso rhac Llaw medd W. Salesbury."
---------------------------------------	---	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

"Turn over the leaf and read forwards	}	These ten leaves that follow on here are the Welsh translation and handwriting of Bishop Davies Saith W. Salesbury."
---------------------------------------------	---	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

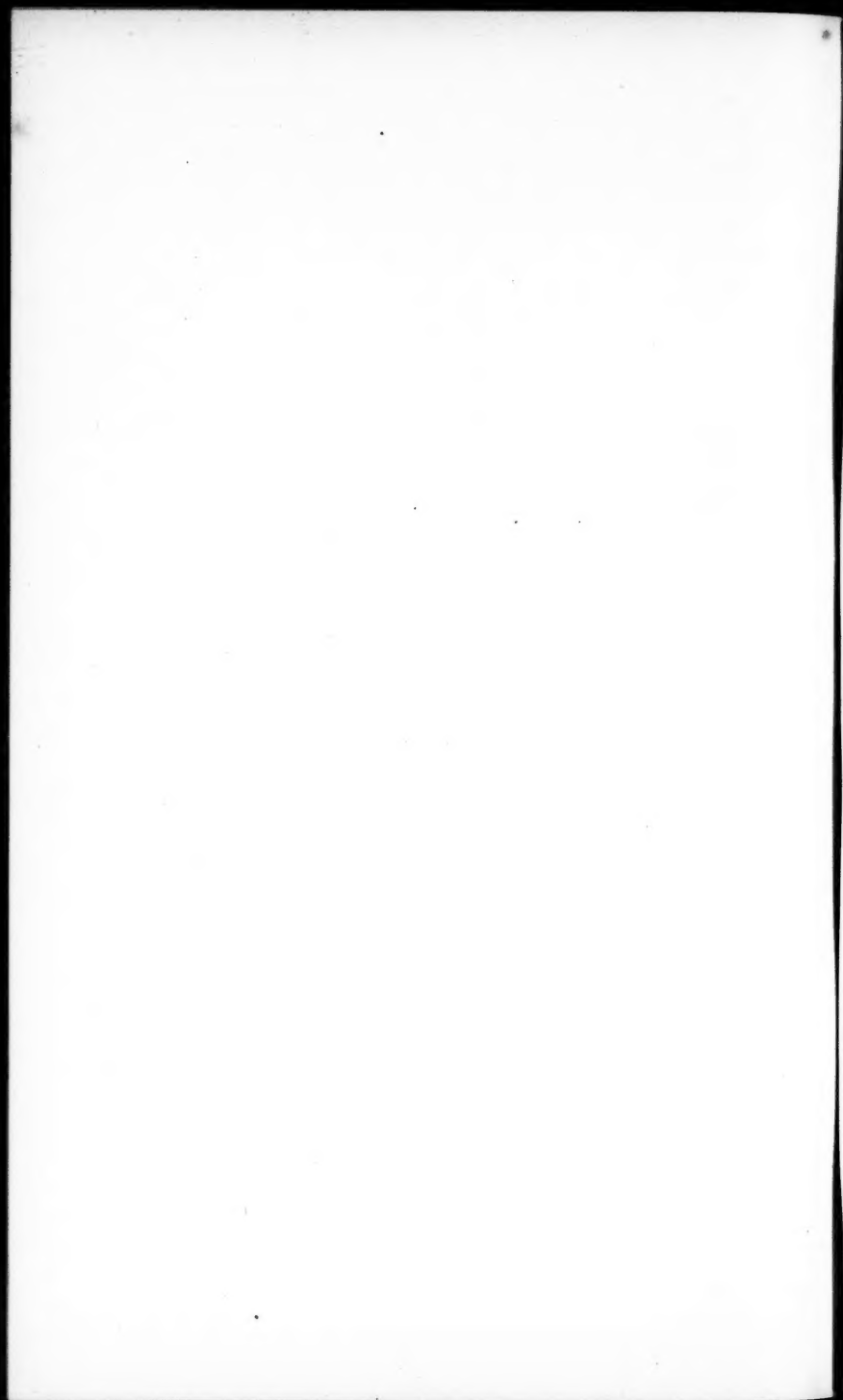
This is probably not the handwriting of Salesbury, as may be seen by comparing the *facsimile* with his signature above, but only the assertion of the fact on his authority.

The MS. is written in the same hand throughout, even to the corrections, though these are in smaller letters. The attestation is important, inasmuch as it assigns the four Epistles to the same authorship, but it involves an awkward dilemma. This version does not

2
S
Zy mas allan dootter Ru Davos Egot Mynw
y Dyfyl hysaf i pawl at tynofynod
y Rysen hysaf

Dawol apothol resu grif: Dwyw nawodl dwt eyn bedwado anen
Garghwydd resu grif eyn go bafg at tynofynod en uor fab yn
y Hedd. Bras frugardd a bing bafedd i can dwt tad ar
arghwydd resu grif eyn Garghwydd m

tro r
ddalen.
a dalen
r hagoi
Cemtreigad ac escrip Llaw Egot
Dant. yw r dec Dalen hyn ys
yma i so rhac llaw medd w Sale/b...y



agree with any known one. It is not the same with that of Salesbury's New Testament, 1567; or of Morgan's revision, 1588; or of the standard version of Bishop Parry, 1620. And it does not tally with the information given in the margin of Salesbury's edition as to the translators of these Epistles. At the end of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians we have this marginal note: "O Lyver cenhedleth, etc., yd y van hyn W. S. a'r Epistol iso D. R. D. M. ei translattodd", *i.e.*, "From the Book of the Generation, etc., to this place, W[illiam] S[alesbury]; and the following Epistle, D[ominus] R[icardus] D[avies] M[enevensis] of St. David's, translated"; so that there is no ambiguity about the First Epistle to Timothy. But at the beginning of the Second Epistle we have this marginal note: "W. S. yr un hwn a'r ddau iso"; *i.e.*, W[illiam] S[alesbury] this one and the two next." Now we cannot suppose that these marginal notes were erroneous, or that they could have been inserted without the knowledge of W. S., and at the same time we have no reason to doubt the attestation of this version as Bishop Davies'. Can the two statements be in any way reconciled? I venture to think they can, by regarding this as an independent version made by the Bishop, either before that printed in the New Testament, or possibly after it, by way of revision, with a view to another edition. This, however, is a point we have no sufficient materials at hand for settling.

The following comparative table of readings in the three versions of (1) this MS., (2) Salesbury's New Testament, 1567, and (3) Dr. Morgan's Bible, 1588, will enable their several peculiarities, and their common relation, to be seen at a glance. I do not include Bishop Parry's version, 1620, as that is the one still in use, and for the present I limit myself to the First Epistle to Timothy, which is admittedly the Bishop's work. It will be noticed that neither of the first two are divided into verses, but the third supplies that aid to reference. Alternate renderings are given as in the MS., sometimes above the word, sometimes in brackets

MS.

Y KYTIPEN KYTAF

Mal i gellych wahardd i nai na
chelynant ymarfael addysge nac
Estyriaeth
Ymarfael chwedlay ag achau diorffen
Gwir yw'r ymadrodd hwn ag ymhob modd
a hwydday gymeriald
Eithr i frenin yr oysoedd, difarwol
anolwgabl unig pwylllog ddauw. urddas
i ddydwy yn ei gymmunaw
Y gorchymyn hwn rydwy fi yni ddodi i tydi
.... mal i'r ymwenyt ynddynt wy flwraeth
ag a dorasant eu llong ynghylch y ffydd
Or kyfri hyn y mae
myfi ac kymunais hwynt
Y rhain a gymunais i Satian

YR AIL KYTIPEN

Kynghori i ddydwy am hyn
Bid gweddianu ytiolgon
pawb a osodol mewn uchelder
yr hwn a chwenych fod holl ddynion yn gad-
wedig
un dau sydd ag un dyddiwr rhwng dyw a
dyn
i'r hwn yn ordeinwyd inau yn bregethwr
ag yn abostol
y gw'r a ddoodya ynghrist ac nid gan
... y merched gyda gwledidwrydd
a chymesuurydd
margrite
aur neu gemman neu wisg werthfawr
nid Adda hefyd a siomed

SALESBURY'S N. T.

PEN I

mal i gellych rybuddio rrai na
ddyscont amryw ddyseidiaeth ag nad
yetyriant chwedlay ag achau anorffen
Gair gwir yw hwn ag yn pob modd
yn heuddu cymeriald
Weithian i'r brein tragwyddol difarwol
anwledigol unig synhwyrol Ddyw urddas
Y Gorchymyn hwn, iddwyf yn y roddi attati
mal i gellech trwyddynt wy ymdrechu yr
ymdrechlad ta
torri llong
ac a wnaethont longgytergoll am y ffydd
o rrai hyn y mae
rrain a ddyroddais i Satian
Cynghori ddwy am hyn
fod ytiolgon, gweddianu
ffawb' or a osodol mewn audurdod
wyllyss
rrwn a fydd pob pob rhyw ddynion yn eadwe-
dig
.... ac un Canolydd (cyfringwr)
ar yr hyn im ddydwy yn pregethwr
ac yn abostol
y gw'r a ddoodya yn Christ heb gelydd
y gwagedd lledneisrwydd
a chymesuurydd
aur neu gemman (berleu) neu ddillad
.... dwyllwyd

PEN II

1. Cynghori yr ydwyf am hynny
fod ymbl, gweddianu
2. a phawb a osodwyd mewn awdurdod
3. yr hwn a fydd pob dyn yn gadwedig
4. ac un cyfringwr rhwng Duw a dyn
5. O'r hyn yn gosodwyd yn bregeth-wr
ac yn Apostol
(gwir yr wyf yn ei ddywedyd yng-Hrist heb
gelydd)
6. i wragedd gyda lledneisrwydd
a chymesuurydd
neu aur neu gemman neu wysc werthfawr
14. Nid Adda a dwyllwyd

MORGAN'S BIBLE.

3. fel y gellych rybuddio rhai na ddyseant
amryw ddyseidiaeth ac nad ystyriant
chwedlau ac achau annhorphen
15. Gair gwir ac yn mhob modd yn heuddu
ei dderbyn (yw) dyfod
17. Ac i'r Brenhin tragywyddol, anfarwol
anwledig unig synhwyrol Dduw y byddo
anrhydedd
18. Y gorchymyn hwn yr ydwyf yn ei roddi
.. flwrtio o honot flwrtiaeth dda
19. ac a wnaethant longeddyriliad am y ffydd
20. O ba nai y mae ..
y rhai a roddais i Satian
PEN II.
1. Cynghori yr ydwyf am hynny
fod ymbl, gweddianu
2. a phawb a osodwyd mewn awdurdod
3. yr hwn a fydd pob dyn yn gadwedig
4. ac un cyfringwr rhwng Duw a dyn
5. O'r hyn yn gosodwyd yn bregeth-wr
ac yn Apostol
(gwir yr wyf yn ei ddywedyd yng-Hrist heb
gelydd)
6. i wragedd gyda lledneisrwydd
a chymesuurydd
neu aur neu gemman neu wysc werthfawr
14. Nid Adda a dwyllwyd

MORGAN'S BIBLE.

PEN III.

1. ymadrodd g'xir yw hwn
od ywneb yn ewyllysio swydd escob
y mae yn chwennychu gwaith da
2. Xa wr un wraig, yn wiliad wrus, yn gym-
hesur
yn athrawaidd. 3. Nid yn wingar
nid yn ymladdgar, yn ddigybudd
4. Yn llywodraethu ei dy ei hun yn dda
6. Nid yn yscolhaig ieu nge

8. Y diaconiaid

yn dala dirgelwch y ffydd

15. Os tariai yn hir

16. Mawr ydyw dirgelwch duwioledeb

PEN IIII.

1. Ar Xspryd sydd yn dywe lyd yn eglur yr
ymedn
rhai yn yr amseroedd diweddaif o'r ffydd, gan
roddi

coel i ysprydion cyfeillionus ac i athrawi-
seithu'r ffydd
2. Xa wr un wraig, yn wiliad wrus, yn gym-
hesur
mewn rhestrith a u cydwybod wedi ei llosgi a
halaarn brwd

6. Yr hwn i'th fagwyd mewn geiriau'r ffydd
ac athrawiaeth dda yr hon a ddilynaist

14. Nac yscaelusa y dawn sydd ynot ti, yr
hwn a
rodded i ti trwy brophwydoliaeth, gan ar-
ddodlad
dwylo yr henuriaeth

15. Arfer y pethau hyn, a pharha yn hyn fel y
byddo dy gynnydd yn eglur ym mhlith pawb

16. Gwilia arnat dy hun ac ar athrawiaeth,
parha yn hyn

SALESBURY'S N. T.

PEN III

Ymaddrod gwir yw hwn
O bydd neb yn wyllysio swydd escob
ys da waith a chwennych
gwr un wraig, gwiliad wr, pwylog
athrawys nid gwingar

nid yn ymladdgar, nid cybydd
un a wyr reoli y dy i hun
nid ysgolhaig ieuanc (Gr. neophyton)

Felly hedyd bot y deconiaid

dirgelwch

yn dala cyfrinach y ffydd

o tariai yn hir

mawr ydyw cyfrinach dywyoliaeth

PEN IIII

A'r yspryd sy'n doryd yn eglur i'r ymedy
rrai yn y, amseroedd diwaytha o'r ffydd yr

ysprydion cyfeillionus a dysceldia-
thau'r ffydd
cethreniaid yn dywedyt oelwydd trwy'r muth
rrain sy ai cydwybod wedi i llosgi gan hayarn-
brwd

rrwn i'th fagwyd mewn geiriau'r ffydd ac
athrawaeth da rrwn a ddilynaist yn astud

dawn

Nac esculusa y trodd sydd ynoti rron a ro-
dded
i ti i profedoliaethy gan osodlad dwylo
yr Henafiaeth (presbyteri)

ac ymdybro yddynt mai i gallo dy
lysaad di fod yn eglur ym plith pawb

Gwilia arnat tyhun ac ar athrawaeth
parhaa yn hyn

MS.—YR AIL KYTPEN.

III CYTPEN

diogel

Ymadrodd diamman yw hwn
Os rhybucha dyn fod yn escob
ys ta waith a rhybucha
diwid kymen
gwr un wraig gotalus pruddiaid
athrolethus, nid rhebiwr gwin
iddaw a chybyddtra
ymbeill iddaw ymwau, ymbeill kybyddtra
un a rolo eudy
nid nofis fydd efo

A'r deoniaid y kyffelyb fold

yn kynnal kyfrinachedd y ffydd

os gwnat hir daring

hyn sydd fawr kyfrinachedd duwioleiaeth

IV CYTPEN

Yr yspryd sydd yn doyd yn olau i'r ymedy
rhai a'r ffydd amser addaw : ai gwg ar

ysprydoedd hudoliaidd : ag addig
diawlaid hwynt rhai drwy ymgowrenio
a ddoydant gelwyddau, ag iddynt
gydwybod wedi ei markio a hayarn brwd

ty i y fagwyd y fewn geiriau y ffydd ag
addysced daionus yr hwn a gylyhnaist yn yatic

Nag esculusa yrhodd sydd ynot rhon a ddo-
dded yt y brofwyddo drwy roddi dwylo ar-
nat

trwy awdurdod effeiriadaeth

ac ymdybro i hyn : mai i bo golau
eu pawb [y gwellaad ta] dy fod yn gwellhan
ym mhob peth

Gwilia arnat tyhun ag ar ddyse a
bydd yatic yn hynny

MS.-YR KYTPEN.

PEN V.

ar gwagedd oydiawg fel mamau
urddas ythai gweddwon
disantoli er feuluad hun
dysantoli er feuluad hun
gwaeth yw na'r anffyddion [Difedydd]
daublyg urddas a baedient
na frwyopa yr ych a ddwrn yr ydd ...
yr enghylion dewisedig
heb prysgar farn na gwneuthur dim yn haner-
awg
w'n er mwyn dy stwmoc ath fynych glwy-
fau

Y VI KYTPEN

Y gwasanaethwyr pa rai bynag a font tan yr
fau
hwnw gwag falch yw
anghyssondeb
questiwnne ag [anghynganedd] geiriau
yn tybied mai elw yw duwoliath
Duwoliath elw mawr ydyw gldag a wasan-
aytho

namyn trwy caiffael lluniaeith a chydachau
byddwn foddion
magyl y kythrel ag i lawer o drachwant an-
rhesymol briwiedig : rhaina faewdd dy-
nion i ddistrwy
chwant arian [money]
ar grwydr oddiar y fydd
llynyddwch [ufyddtra] ymwan ddayonus
ymwanniad fydd

hyd appirans yr Arglwydd Iesu Grist
ddedwddawl ag unig alluys brenin breninodd
anserteirwydd kyfoeth
yn ddiandlawd yw meddinann
yn storisaw yddynt euhun sulifan da gochel ..
a possiadu a fials hennw keirfyddyd arnynt

SALESBURY'S N. T.

PEN V.

Yr hen wragedd mal mamau
anrwydded gwagedd gweddwon
dysantoli er feuluad hun
magyl gallont fod ddiheins
gwaeth yw nag un difydd
daudryblg urddas haeyddant
na vvelia sain yr ych syn durnu'r yd
a'r etholedig angylion
heb ragori neb mwy noi glildd na gwa-
euthur dim
o gydpartieith (yn bartiol)
ir mwyn dy gylla ath fynych weundde (les-
cedde

PEN VI.

Cynifer ac y sydd o wasanaethwyr tann yr
fau
chwyddo i mae heb wybod dim
questiwnnau a dadl-geiriau (ymddadieu am air-
ieu)
yn tybiad taw elw yw duwoliath
(mae dywddedp yw elw)
Elw mawr eisus yw duwoliath drwy ym-
voddion o ddyn a'r hyn vo cantho

Am hynny o cawn ymborth a dillad ymfod-
lonwn ar hynny
i vagle ac i lawer o drachwantau folion a
niweidus, rrain syn bodd dnyion i golledig
aeth ac i ddistrwy
Chwant mawnw (bath, mwne)
hwy a wyrnasont o'r fydd (gyfeirioreont,
aethont ar didro)
lledneiswydd, ymadd ymladdiad
gorchestol (teg, claeir, pryderfith, bybyrly fydd

hydd ymddangosiad eyn Arglwydd Iesu Christ
rrwn sy fendigedig ac unie pennaeith, Brenin
Y Breuhineodd (gywoeth)
gould anwadal
.. yn ddigonawl yw mawynhau
yn storio yddynt i hunain sail da rag llaw
gan aethol i ddistrwy
a gwrthododdad camenawedig ceirfyddyd

MORGAN'S BIBLE.

PEN V.

Yr hen wragedd megis mamau
3. Anrhyddedda'r gwagedd gweddwon
4. dyscant ... lywodraethu en ty euhun
7. fel y byddiant ddiargyfoedd
8. gwaeth yw nag un difydd
17. Ydynt yn haeddu parch daudryblyg ;
18. Na chae safn yr ych yr hwn sydd yn dyr-
nu yr yd ;
21. A'r etholedig angelion
yn ddi-ddued na gwneuthur dim o gyd-part-
iaeth
23. Wn yr mwyn dy gylla a'ih fynych wen-
dd

PEN VI.

1. Cynifer ac sydd wasanaethwyr tann yr
fau
4. Chwyddo y mae heb wybod dim
Cwestiwnnau a dadl eiriau
5. yn tybied mai elw yw duwoliath
6. Elw mawr eisus yw duwoliath drwy ym-
fodloni o ddyn a'r hyn fyddo ganddo

8. Am hynny o chawn ymborth a dillad ni a
ymfodlonwn ar hynny
9. ac i fagleu ac i lawer o drachwantau
angall a niweidus y rhai sy yn bodd
dnyion i golledigaeth ac i ddistrwy
10. Chwant arian
11. aethont ar didro
12. .. Ymdrecha orchestol ymdrechriad
y fydd
14. hyd ymddangosiad ein Harglwydd Iesu
Grist

15. yr hwn sydd fendigedig ac unie ben-
naeth
17. Golut anwadal
.. yn ddigonol iw mawynhau
rhag llaw
19. yn tywysorn i ddynat eu hunain sail da
20. gan ddi-ddued na gwneuthur dim o gyd-part-
iaeth
a gwrthododdad camenawedig ceirfyddyd
wybodaeith

It will at once be seen from the above table that the version is important not only as a translation of a portion of Holy Scripture, but also for the light it throws on the condition of the Welsh language at that day. Among its peculiarities are the following words and expressions :—

“Kytpen”, chapter, nowhere else met with, and it is hard to say whether it is intended as simply another form of *pennod*, or a formative from *capitulum*; “alluys” (*alluog*), powerful; “athroleithus” (*athrawaidd*), apt to teach; “anolwgalb” (*anweledig*), invisible; “cydachau” (*dillad*), clothing; “cymen” (*pruddaidd*, *pwyllog*), sober-minded; “cymmuno”, to commend; “deoniaid”, *deconiaid* (W. S.), *diaconiaid* (W. M.); “dyddiwr” (*cyfryngwr*), daysman, mediator; “daring”, to tarry; “effeiriadaeth” = *henafiaeth* (*presbyteri*) (W. S.), = *henuriaeth* (W. M.); “estwmoc” (*cylla*), stomach; “gwagfalch”, vain, proud; “nofis” (*ysgolhaig ieuange*), novice; “rolo”, to rule; “rhybuchu”, to desire; “ystic”, instant, earnest. “Yn ystig ac yn wastad” (W. M.).

Then we have such words as “margarite” and “monei” put in brackets to explain “gemmau” and “arian”; and the prefix “di” where Salesbury and all later writers use “an”, as in “diorffen”, “difedydd”, “difarwol”, and in one case both combined, as in “di-andlawd”. The letter “i” largely occupies the place of the later “y”, as “mal i gellych”, “i’r ymedy”, “iddydwyf” which is, moreover, curious for its disconnection. We should write “ydd ydwyf”. We have “ys” also before an adjective, as “ysta”, and the pronoun “tau” is frequent, as in “gwellhad tau”. The sentence to “fight the good fight” of faith, is differently turned in each, being “Ymwan ymwanniad” in Bishop Davies; “Ymladd ymladdiad” in William Salesbury; “Ymdrech ymdrechriad” in William Morgan.

Some Welsh scholars have found great fault with Salesbury’s version because of the many English and Latin words introduced, when there were corresponding Welsh words already in existence; especially in the old poems. It is easy to say so now, with printed books

at our elbows, but at that time they lay in MS., and the first translators may well be excused for not having been able to recall them to mind. Besides which, the very nature of their work rendered accuracy of idea more important than elegance of expression, and poetry has always enjoyed a licence which is denied to prose. This consideration deserves all the more weight from its present application to the "Word of God" and the souls of men. And, indeed, it is one to which Salesbury has himself given very strong expression on the very title-page of the volume. "Testament Newydd ein Arglwydd Jesu Christ Gwedy ei dynnu, *yd y gadei yr ancylfaeth, 'air ynei gylydd o'r Groec a'r Llatin, gan newidio ffurf llythyreu y gairiae-dodi*", i.e., "The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ, translated, as far as the difference of the language will admit, *word for word* from the Greek and Latin, by changing the form (or arrangement) of the letters in their composition." And it is a further confirmation of this to read that when the Bishop and Salesbury had afterwards laboured together for two years in the translation of the Old Testament, they quarrelled so keenly over one particular word that they both gave over the work thenceforward. Others have found in the New Testament strong evidence of a South-Walian influence, whereas the two chief translators were North Walians. This, however, was but natural, for almost all the *prose* compositions then available were in that dialect, and it was moreover a special care to render it as intelligible as possible to all parts of the Principality, as is so strongly emphasised in the continuation of the title: "Eb law hynny y mae pop gair a dybiwyt y vot yn andeallus, ai o ran llediaith y'wlat, ai o ancynefinder y deunydd, wedy ei noti a'i eglurhau ar 'ledemyl y tudalen gydrychiol", that is to say, "Every word which was thought to be unintelligible, either from local usage or because of the peculiarity of the matter, has been noted and explained on the corresponding margin."

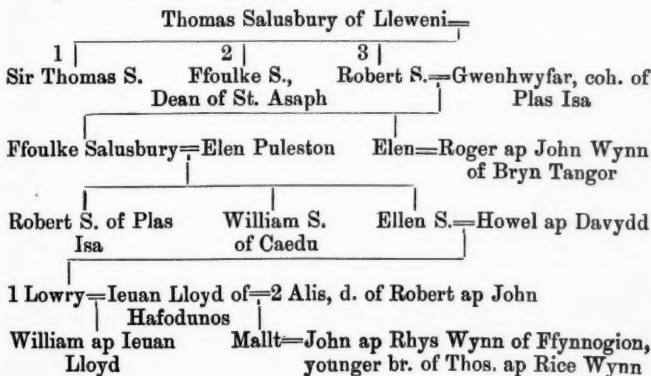
Another reason, not hitherto noticed, for some of Salesbury's awkward-looking formations may be disco-

vered in his desire to make each word tell its own story and be its own interpreter, which he effected by printing in different type such syllables as served to accentuate the original shade of meaning, but were seldom used in common speech, and need not be pronounced in the reading. Thus he wrote "anweledigol", "dyroddais", "difaiedic", "henafgwr", "ymarfer", "long-gyfergoll".

I might add more on the subject of the orthography and the condition of the language at the time, but I have written already sufficient, I trust, to show the exceeding interest and value of the volume of which this MS. forms a principal part.

This is not, however, the only important MS. volume in Mr. Davies-Cooke's library. He is the fortunate owner of the original *Liber Landavensis*. This MS. was published some years ago (from seventeenth century transcripts, not from the original) in the series of the Welsh MSS. Society, under the editorship of the Rev. W. J. Rees; but it appears not to have been altogether accurately done, and through Mr. Davies-Cooke's courtesy it has been most carefully copied and collated, and will be immediately issued under the supervision of Professor Rhys and Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, in the Welsh Text Series.

The following table will show the relation of some of the persons mentioned in the Bond :



SIR RHYS AP THOMAS :

A STUDY IN FAMILY HISTORY AND TUDOR POLITICS.

(Continued from p. 101.)

FOR the continuation of the story we must for a time quit the "State Paper" series of documents and turn to the Star Chamber proceedings) Henry VIII, Bund. 18, No. 234). Here we find that a Bill of Indictment was preferred against Rice Griffith, by Lord Ferrers, upon the charges indicated in the preceding letters. The document is long, but I am reluctant to cut it down very close, as there are particulars in it which deserve to be known as part of the history of the Dimetian land.

"Information to the Kynges Highnes and Council of the misdemeano'rs of Rice Gruffith, Esquire, against the Lord Ferrars, the kinge's Chiff Justice and Chamberlayn of South Wales.

"That the said lord, being chyff justice ther, came to Kerm'dyn the Saturday being the vj June, xx Henry VIII, for the keeping of the Kynges Great Sessions enhoyre [in eyre] there, and ministering of justice his Deputie James le'ch whent to the Mayor of the said town to take lodging for the said lord's servants which mayor by his servants did appoint certen houses there and did deliver bylletts to the said James for the same who did deliver the said bylletts to Thomas Here who was sent before and made lodgyng for the said servants. The said Ryce Gruffith without assignment of the mayor or any other officer not regarding the lodging to be taken for the said justice upon a wylful mynde and maliciously disposed to make quarrels sent Thomas ap Morgan his servant with his bayges [badges] upon papers peynted and sett them upon the doores of ev'ry of the asyd houses that were appointed ... to thentent that none of the said Justices servants shuld be lodged there which he hath not byn feyn hertofore and to maintayne his misdeman'ors had p'veueleye causyd his frynds and adherents to be warnyd as well in the countie of Kerm'dyn as in the Lshp. of Kidwelly who in

ryettous man'r well wepyny'd assymbyld them thesame nyght to a great nombre and came towards Kerm'dyn entending to have morderyd and destroyed the said justice and his servants.

"*Item.*—On Sondag beyng the vij day of same month of June the sayd Ryce Gruffith sent to dyu's places in the counties of Kerm'dyn, Cardigan, and Kidwelly to rease the Kyng's subjects wylling and commandyng them to make proclamaciones opynlye in the churches that such that wher his kynesmen lou's [lovers] and ffrynds and wold do anything for hym shuld come well ap-poynted and wepened to the kyng's toune of Kerm'dyn on Monday next after being the viij June for the purpose before rehersed and for profe thereof David ap Rice baes [? Bach] unckyll to the said Rice Gruffith by his nephew is cominaunde-mente caused p'clamacyon to be made in the churches of llansadorne and llanwoorda confessyd the same in the chancery of Kerm'dyn as appered as well by the same confession as by confession of Sir Walter ap Dauyd prist and curate ther who publyshed p'clamacyons in church of llanwoorda af's'd.

"*Item.*—Upon Twesdaye being xvij day of sayd moneth of June the same Ryce Gruffith accompany'd with ffortye and more of his s'vants well armyd and wepyned came unto the Kyngs Castell of Kerm'dyn and knockyd at the Chamb'r dore of the said Justice where he was accompany'd with Dyvers gentylmen of the s'd county in the sayd chamb'r and mad quarrel with the said Justice why he shuld kepe in ward on' Thomas ap Howen his kynesman wh' is a mysrulred person and oon of the chefe berers and maynteno'rs of all evil disposed men and naughty matters in this p'tes and hath forfeited fyve hundred markes to the kyngs use for the same and utering forder his p'pensed malis made assault there upon the sayd Justice and drew his dagger and therwith wuld have foyned and strycken him in presens of dyv's gentylmen and other as well sp'uall and temporall and for proff therof his dagger was taken owt of his hand by lewis Thomas ap John gentylman the kyng is sworne s'vante who was sore hurt and wounded w't'in his right hand by the sayd Rice in takyng awaye the said dagger and thereupon the said Justice commandyd him in the kyngs name that he shuld kepe the kyngs peace and not departe out of the castell ther upon payne of a thousand pounds which he wold nothing regard if he could otherwise have don. Notwithstanding that the said Justice com'aundyd all his s'vants upon payne of deth that they shuld do him and his s'vants no bodilye harm (but to kepe the peace) and seeing his malicious and wilful de-meanor kepthe hym in warde without doing him any hurte untill such tyme that he was afterwards discharged by the kyngs most honorable letters from the prince's counsell to the said Justice.

"*Item.*—The said Rice Gruffith and the lady Katherine Haward his wiff upon Wednesday the xvij daie of s'd moneth of June sent their messengers and servants by nyght and daye to all partyes of the counties of Kerm'dyn Cardygan and Pembrok and to all other lordships from Bilth to Saint Davys wh' is nere an hundred myles wt' au'ov'yn outerye to rease and as-symble the kyngs subgietts in rebell man' to thentente that they myght have taken the sayd Rice Gruffith owt of the said Castell of Kerm'dyn by force and also for thentent aforesaid, and for proff those persons whose names are in a sodule herunto annexed being the Captaynes and Ry'gleders of all the people that wer so reased aproched the Kyngs towne and Castell of Kerm'dyn upon every quarter of the said toun by nyght In as moche as Rice rede Lewis powell ap Phyllyp and Owen Morgan w'th dyv's other accompanied w'th vij score p'sons and more entryd on the west syde of the said towne and came in the raye of battell as far as the dark gate sending messages unto the said Justice ther such like messages as hath byn rehersed before for wh' ryotous mys-dem'ors the said Rice Gruffith and other to the nomb'r of six score of the Capytayns and Ryngleders ar indyted as Rebelly-oues at the counties holden at Kerm'dyn and by the boks and processes in the said counties remaynyng more at large doth apere.

"*Item.*—When the said Justice to his great danger and coste had kepte the sayd Ryce in ward and freyd and pacyfied the countrey and also upon commandymnt of the King had enlarged the said Rice to be forth comyng before the prince's councell in the M'ches where the said Justice was bounden before the said Councell by oon obligation in oon thousand pounds that he himself his servants &c shulde observe and kepe the Kyngs peace ag'st the said Rice Gruffith his servants fryndes and part takers and the said Rice in likewise bounden (*in like sum to kepe the peace towards the said Justice*) until the qu'm of Saint Mighell and both to appear then in the Star Chamber That bonds notwithstanding too of the household s'vants of the s'd Rice Gr'oon is caulyd Gruffith ap Morgan usser of his haule and the other caulyd Gruffith ap John his fauk'no'r upon thursdaye being the vith day of August in the yere of our Sou'an lord aforesaid about ix of the cloke in the night laye in wayte in the towne of Kerm'dyn for oon Reynold ap Morgan gentylman lernyd in the lawe lieften'nte to the sayd lord fferers the kings Justice ther and also the kyngs bayliff and officer of the same towne for the yere where the same Reynold was in godds peace and the Kyngs setting watch in dyu's p'tys of the towne for good rule to be hade the said

Gruffith ap Morga' and Gruffith ap John feloniously the oon with a greyye and the other with a swerd and buckler ther assawt the sayd Reynold geving him many cruell wounds in dyv's places of his body and so hayneously murderd hym ther and after the sayd cruell morder the said too p'sones wer opynly resettyd in the offices Romcs and auctorities of the said Rice Gruffith and dyv's and many times seen as well in the towne of tenbye as dyv's other places w'tin the said Rice auctorities and so daylye maynteyned and fauoryd by hym and his.

"*Prayer*—that he be convicted of treason for attempting to procure the death of the King's Justice.

"Here foloweth the names of them that assembled reased and gatheryd the Kyng Subgietts w't' open owterye in South Wales and brought them towards the Kyngs towne of Kerm'dyn to thentente to have destroyed the lord fferers the Kyngs Chiff Justice ther.

"Of the countie of Kerm'dyn—Isthethe.

Rys Rede — Lewis ap Howell Phillip—Owen Morgan, gentylmen.

"Of the Countie of Pembrok :—

John Oggan—Henry Wryott, Esquiers.

William ap howen lernyd in the lawe } gentylmen

Willyam Dauyd Willia'

John ap Evan ap Gl'in of the lordship of Narbarth.

"Of Emlyn lordship :—

Sir Hugh Gwyn, clerk :—Gitto ap Eva' ap ll'en—Dauyd ap Rees, yeoman.

"Kydwelly is Lordship :—

Dauyd Vachg'n—Roger Vachg'n—Thomas Vachg'n—Morgan Vachg'n, gentylmen.

"Of the Countie of Kerm'dyn—Vuchcothe :—

Evan ap Henrye—John Gr. ap Morga'—William John

Dee—John Lloyd—William ap Evan ap Rothereche—

Phillip William—John ap Gl'in Thomas—John ll'n Dee

the Young'r—Owen Ryce—William ap Rs ap Eynon,

gentylmen.

"Hugh ap Jencken leder of the Abbot of talleys ten'nts.

"William Thomas Goze leder of the ten'nts of the bysshops lands in the counties of Kerm'dyn and Cardigan w't' many others."

The document just quoted has many points of interest which might well receive attention if the limited

character of this inquiry permitted of such a digression. There is material there, for instance, which throws much light upon the manners and customs of the time, upon the high-born English lady's devotion to the cause of her Welsh husband, and upon the stateliness of Rice Griffith's household. These I leave ; but I cannot pass over the grave charges contained in this formal legal document without subjecting them to very strict scrutiny.

If the charges contained in it were but true, and reasonable proof afforded thereof, then Rice Griffith, according to the laws and ordinances of the Tudor sovereigns, deserved to be and would have been sent to the block forthwith. But they were grossly exaggerated, and that the document itself bears proof. To take two examples only. See how formidable it reads when we are gravely told that on "Sunday the 7th" Rice Griffith sent to divers places in the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Kidwelly, willing rebellious proclamations to be made in the churches. The idea conveyed to the mind is that three whole counties were being stirred up to sedition, but when the *proof* of this is tendered, it turns out that proclamation (of some kind) had been requested in the two churches nearest to Rice Griffith's principal Carmarthenshire residence, but had only actually been made in *one*. Of the seditious character of the "proclamations" no evidence at all is given. Was there ever before, in a grave charge of this kind, such an infinite quantity of *sack* allotted to so small a piece of *bread* ?

Again, with regard to the schedule at the end of the Bill, giving the names of those who raised the King's subjects with open outcry. After all the beating about for information by Lord Ferrers' myrmidons, it is only a beggarly array of twenty-seven names that can be strung together as the total force of the disaffected. And this is Assize time at Carmarthen, when men of local position would be gathered there from three counties. Remember, too, that the person who, ac-

according to Ferrers' showing, had been making gigantic efforts to bring all this "force" together, is he who is the sole inheritor of the wealth, position, and influence of the man who, less than forty-five years before, was the "lord of eighteen hundred chief tenants, and able to bring into the field just on five thousand horse, fully equipped."

As far as we know to the contrary, Rice Griffith's possessions and influence were co-extensive with those of his grandfather's. Henry of Richmond would have fared very badly indeed, in July and August 1485, if Sir Rhys ap Thomas had only been able to get twenty-seven gentlemen and clergymen with their servants to follow him in the march from Pembrokeshire to Bosworth.

Thus far, upon the evidence offered, it must be dismissed as flimsy in the extreme. For a man to be convicted upon evidence of this kind would mean that his conviction had been determined upon beforehand. What actually took place is to me unknown, for beyond the Bill no other record of these proceedings has been discovered. It is probable that he was heavily fined. Rice evidently was not high in favour at Court; the royal purse constantly wanted replenishing, and when we next find Rice he is spoken of as "young and gentle", but the tone of his mind is soured, and he is brooding under some sense of wrong inflicted upon him by the King.

What I would emphasise in the points brought out from the Bill is the testimony they bear to the animus of Lord Ferrers against Rice Griffith. As to the noble lord himself, we will take his character as it stands, self-depicted in the Bill before us. Therein he exhibits himself to us as possessing the manners, the apprehensions, and the cast of mind of a "waiting gentleman". Had it been possible for Shakespeare to have known him, I should have said without hesitation that in Lord Ferrers we had the original of that creature of his class who has been handed down to all time, famous for

his mortal fear of "villainous saltpetre", his delicate handling of the pouncet-box, and a dread of anything offensive "coming betwixt the wind and his nobility". To complete the likeness between them, both of them possessed (it must be an inseparable part of the character) an innate propensity for mischief-making, and both also the arts of ingratiating themselves into royal favour.

The last stage of our inquiry is now reached, and there remains for us but to investigate the causes and lay bare the circumstances which led and attended Rice Griffith to the scaffold: These are complex and involved in no small degree. Indeed, when we get to the bottom of the evidence which remains, and which professes to tell us all about the matter, all, that is, which the Tudor king and his ministers thought fit should be recorded—there will be found more than one subject of mystery which must be solved, as I think they may be, by a careful study of circumstances, contemporary and antecedent, by which the case was surrounded, and from which it cannot be detached. Recorded contemporary opinion from outside observers will also be pressed into service. The task, I am aware, will be tedious; nevertheless, I do not consider myself called upon to apologise to Cambrian archæologists for the infliction upon them which this attempt involves. If I succeed, then, I clear up a dark episode in national history; if I fail, I stimulate others to undertake the study of the history of a neglected period.

How much or how little the influence of Wolsey may have served Rice Griffith to escape from the Star Chamber as well as he did, it is impossible, in the absence of dates, to judge. The period was that of the crisis in Wolsey's career. At Michaelmas, 1529, the great Cardinal—the first great statesman (*qua* statesman) which we can point to in England—was tottering to his fall. Chapuys, writing from London to his master, on 25th October, says, "The Cardinal was disevangeliſed on the day of St. Luke the Evangelist" (18th October).

In the same letter he says, "As the administration has fallen principally into the hands of the Duke of NorfolkI hastened to visit him." How came the Duke of Norfolk to be placed at the head of affairs, and what had he to support him there? What were the antecedents of the Duke and his family? No one for a moment will attribute to Norfolk the possession of statesmanship any way comparable to that of Wolsey; how was it that he preserved the favour of the King—I will not say the direction of State policy—for eighteen years? We must look for the answer to these questions in the position, character, and principles of Henry VIII, and compare them with those of his father.

The popular view of the Tudor dynasty is that it was the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster. In a certain limited sense this is quite right, but a little study will show that the fusion was not in equal proportions of red and white. Mr. Froude, whose history begins but with the fall of Wolsey, unfortunately takes but a rapid glance over preceding events, and the *résumé* which he gives is sketchy and incomplete, to his own manifest loss and disadvantage. He notices, however, that Henry VII inherited Lancastrian sympathies, and that among these was a tendency to conciliate the Church. He also says that experience soon convinced Henry that the war (of the Roses) had "ceased only with exhaustion, and not because there was no will to continue it. He breathed an atmosphere of suspended insurrection." His chief introductory remark upon Henry VIII is that he was "a mere boy on his accession, and was carried with the prevailing stream".

Dr. Brewer's masterly preface to the *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII*, contains a comparative analysis of the characters and position of the two Henrys, which may be consulted with advantage by those who may wish to pursue the subject further than it can be carried here. He dwells on the splendour and ostentation of the court of Henry VIII, attributing these partly to the youth of the King and partly to his

secure position on the throne. Dr. Brewer has, I think, failed here in accurately tracing these regal qualities of Henry VIII to their true source. They were his, not by mere virtue of his youth, but by inheritance. They were Yorkist qualities, with others not to be thought of without shuddering, which came to him from his mother. He was a true grandson of Edward IV as well as grand-nephew of Richard III. In this fact we have the key to his character and his position. There was no equal fusion in him of the two Houses ; in whatever related to the throne and to his dignity he was a Yorkist out and out. As "a mere boy" he went with the stream of the policy of his father's reign, but when time, aided marvellously by the guiding genius of Wolsey, had brought about the development of his own character, his inherent qualities came forth, both for good and evil. And these qualities were those of the House of York. His secure seat on the throne was his chiefly in right of his mother. This he must have recognised, and there came a change—a change, if not of domestic policy, at least in the choice of those who were to carry out his behests, and of a very marked kind. When Wolsey fell, who were those who rose into favour ? Chiefly, I take it, the descendants of those who had fought against the House of Lancaster. The head of the family of Howard, and also that of Ferrers, had both fallen at Bosworth, fighting on the side of Richard. The descendants or kinsmen of neither of these noblemen, nor yet of any other prominent Yorkist, would have been entrusted with power by Henry VII. A steady alteration had taken place under Henry VIII, and by the time that Wolsey's fall had been brought about, the change was complete : the Yorkist faction was predominant. To quote Dr. Brewer : " Howards, Brاندons, Jerninghams, Sydneys, Plantagenets, Sherbornes, Fitzwilliams, Marneys, were, or had been, all squires or knights of the body." Several of these names are those of pronounced Yorkist families, and the selection leads one to suppose that they all were. If this simply meant

that under Henry VIII all rivalry or bitterness of feeling between the descendants of the old partisans of the red and white roses had been buried in oblivion, it would be the realization of all the hopes which Henry VII's marriage had raised. But faction still smouldered. What had undergone a change was not so much the feeling of one section of the partisans as their mode of warfare, now that they basked in court favour. Fanatics, indeed, might still take the field, but there was now a surer mode of crushing a Lancastrian, and that with the King's favour, by invoking the aid of the Courts of Law.

Thus the elevation of one party meant the depression of the other; and depression, if the obnoxious person had great possessions, meant ruin. Norfolk's talents for statesmanship were but mediocre. They would never have elevated him into the vacant seat from whence Wolsey had dazzled the world. But the traditional partisanship which he had inherited was a passage to the King's favour, and he was, besides, willing to purchase place by becoming the instrument of gratifying Henry's lust for blood, which was part of his Yorkist nature.

By the changes which had thus been brought about it had come to pass that to be the representative of a Lancastrian family was, in some measure, a mark of obloquy at Court. Rice Griffith came of Lancastrian stock, and he had great possessions. There was also entertained against him, as there had been entertained against his grandfather, a doubt as to his loyalty. All that this doubt or suspicion rested upon was the jealousy, common in kings, of a powerful subject. In each case it was groundless. No matter for that—his ruin was determined on. After the Ferrers episode, ending in the appearance in the Star Chamber, there is evidence of his mind being soured. The Star Chamber business seems to have detained him some time in or near London, and for that, or the watching of other interests imperilled, he must have taken a house at Islington. Here, at this

time, talking to one of his neighbours, he is reported to have said, in relation to the Court, "that Welshmen and priests were sore disdained nowadays". The favour in which both were held in the Court of Henry VII could only be a tradition to "young Sir Rice", as he was called, but it would seem that even he could remember their receiving better treatment than they then had at the hands of the reigning sovereign.

What happened between the close of 1529 and the early autumn of 1531 does not appear. That he must have been watched by those who had marked him for a prey, and harassed by imprisonment, is evident.¹ For what information there is on this point we are indebted to Chapuys, who, writing to Charles V, on 26th September, says: "Five days ago the Seigneur Ris,

¹ For a considerable time within this period Rhys ap Gruffydd was a prisoner in the Tower, but for what reason is unknown. It is probable that he had been engaged in, or was thought to have had a hand in, some disturbances in which a James ap Gruffydd ap Howell, who now appears upon the scene for the first time, bore a considerable part. On the 7th of October 1530 a warrant was addressed to Lord Ferrers to apprehend this individual, who was reported to have fortified himself in the Castle of Emlyn, one of the castles of Rhys ap Gruffydd. He was taken and sent to the Tower, where he remained until June 1531, when he was released on payment of a fine of £526:13:4. In his pardon he is described as "James Gryffyth ap Howel of Castell Malgon, *alias* of the lordship of Spyttye in the lordship of St. John, *alias* of the lordship of Emlyn, *alias* of Llanddewibrevi in the lordship of the Bishop of St. David's, *alias* of the lordships of Rustely and Cavillog [Arwystli and Cyveiliog] in Powys lande, gent." For his subsequent adventures see p. 208. Whether Rhys ap Gruffydd had been embroiled in this outbreak or not, he was arrested about this time, and committed to the Tower. In the British Museum (Cott., Titus B. I, fo. 155) is a list of prisoners confined at different times in the Tower, and the cost of their maintenance. Amongst them we find "Rys ap Gryffyth, for his bed and board for 11 months", charged at the rate of 10s. per week. If Rhys was released because of ill health about the end of August or early part of September 1531 (he being *again* arrested on the 21st of September, as we learn from Chapuys' letter quoted above), after an imprisonment of eleven months, this would bring his capture to September or October 1530, just the time when some disturbances did undoubtedly break out amongst his retainers.—E. O.

brother-in-law of the Duke of Norfolk, was again seized and put in the Tower, from which he had been liberated on security in consequence of his indisposition. It is said he was trying to escape either to your Majesty or to Scotland, and would find means of getting up some enterprise by his influence in Wales."¹

Out of the gaoler's hands he never got again. Charges of some kind were trumped up against him. What they were no one of the outer public exactly knew, they were not even distinctly set forth in the Bill of Attainder, to be presently quoted, but such as they were they formed the basis of the charge upon which he was arraigned and convicted of treason in the Court of King's Bench. Proofs there could have been none; but as to proof, Hume, speaking of the execution of the Earl of Surrey, Norfolk's only son, in 1547, says "that neither parliaments nor juries seem to have given the least attention to them in any case of the Crown during this whole reign". The trial took place on "the Mondaye next after the xvth St. Marten", and the execution swiftly followed. Nothing is to be got out of the English State Papers, and our authority for the closing scene is that of the ever-watchful Chapuys, whose letter to his master, dated London, 4th December 1531, appears amongst the English State Papers of that year (No. 563), as a transcript from the original in the Vienna Archives. He says: "You will have learned the condemnation of Seigneur Ris, Norfolk's brother-in-law, whose father was formerly Governor of Wales, and his grandfather also, and one of those who did great service to Henry VII

¹ A letter of Chapuys, dated 15th Oct. 1530, informs the Emperor that the King had sent to the Tower a Welsh gentleman named Ris, because (as report goes) not satisfied with his wife having, some months ago, besieged the Governor of Wales in his castle for several days, and had some of his attendants killed, he himself has threatened to finish what his wife had begun. (*Venetian State Papers*.) It would appear from this letter that Lady Katharine had been actively engaged in the disturbances of the preceding August.—E. O.

in his early necessities and the conquest of the kingdom. The sentence was put in execution this morning, and Ris was beheaded in the same place as the Duke of Buckingham.¹ The reason alleged is that he had not discovered how that one of his servants had requested him, in order to be avenged of the wrongs that were done him, to retire into Scotland, and persuade the King of Scots to undertake the conquest of this kingdom, wherein he would find no difficulty through the favour of the Welsh and the trouble caused by the divorce; and though the said Ris neither accepted nor approved this, yet because he did not reveal the said words he has been punished, notwithstanding the many excuses that he alleged; and it is a common report that had it not been for the King's lady, of whom Ris and his wife had spoken, he never would have come to this miserable end."

The "common report" mentioned above may or may not have been true, but, true or false, it shows what was currently believed to have been the animus of the Howard family towards Rice. It shows, too, that Rice, whatever his faults, had the Lancastrian virtue of siding with the Church, or, as it may be better expressed, the priestly party, in the matter of the divorce. As to the accusation of "treason", nothing could well be more strained and flimsy. This is borne out by the Act of Attainder, of which certain portions have been extracted. Of the "William Hughes, gentleman", nothing more is known than what appears in the Bill. His name is nowhere met with in the State Papers of these years. He probably had not the "honour" of being beheaded on Tower Hill, but met with an unrecorded, commoner, and more cruel death by being hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn.²

¹ Tower Hill.

² This was the case. It is mentioned in a despatch of Seigneur Carlo Capello (*Venetian State Papers* .— F. O.

Rolls of Parliament, 23 Henry VIII. State Papers,
153-720 (No. 14).

"Memorandum q'd quedam billa formam ejusdem actus con-
vice'o'is & atteince'onis Rici ap Gryffyth
An Acte conc'nyng the Will'i Hughes in se continens exhibita
Atteynder of Rychard fuit p'fato d'no Regi in parlamento
ap Gruffyth & p'd'c'o cum certis p'uisionib' eodem
Wylllyam Hughes annexis cuius tenor sequentur in hec
verba

"Forasmuch as Rychard ap Gruffyth late of London Esquyre otherwise called Rice ap Gryffith late of Carewe in Wales Esquyre and William Hughes late of London gentylman otherwise called William Hughes of Carewe aforesayd gentylman in the xxviiij day of August in this instant xxiiijth year of the kyngs most noble reign and dyvers tymes after at Iseldon in the county of Midd. & in other places in the same county ymagyned trayterously & unnaturally the dethe & destrucc'on of the most royall p'son of oure sayde Sou'eign lorde & the subn'son of this his realme & ensuyng the same then trayterously com'ytted and dyd in the said countye of Midd. dyv's actes beyng highe treason ageynst oure said sou'eign Lorde the Kyng con'try to theyre allegyaunce of the whyche treasons & offences the sayde Rice and Wyllyam at Westm. in the sayd countye of Midd. in the terme of Seynt Michell last past in the kyngs most honorable Courtt co'enly called the Kyngs Benche before the Justyc there of that Courte then were indited & theruppon of the sayde treasons were arreyned & afterward that is to saye in the Monday next after the xvth of Seynt Marten last past in the sayde xxiiijth yere by v'tue of a lawfull Inquest were there ffounde gytye & thereof by Judgement of the sayde Courte accordyng to the lawes of the realme of Englonde were atteynted of highe treason as by the records of the same Courte more evydently apperyth Wherefore be it Enacted by Authoritye of this p'sent p'lyament that the sayd Rice ap Gruffith and Wyllyam Hughes & eu'y of them for theyr offenses before rehercyd stonde & be convycted adiuged atteynted of highe treason and also forfeit to oure sayde Lorde the Kynge & to his heyres for eu' all & singler castells manours lordships hundreds franchises lib'tyes pryvelges advowsons no'i'acions patronages knyghts fees londs ten'ts s'vyces reu'syons remaynders portions annuities penc'ons possessions & all other heredytaments and rights of entre and eu'y possessions whatso euer & where so euer they be in Englonde Irelande Wales Caleys or Marches of the same and in the towne of Berwicke or Elsewhere wherof the same Rice and William or

eu'y of them or eny p'son or p'sons to the use of them or eny of them be or was seased

"And furthermore be yt enacted by auctoritie of this p'sent p'liament that the estate and possessyons of all and singler the sayde castells man's lordshipps londs ten'ts & other the p'myssees by v'tue of this acte shalbe & be vestyd actually & really in the demeane ffrehold & possession of oure sayde sou'eign lorde the kyng & of his heyres & assignes accordyng to the tenour & effect of this p'sent acte as fully & effectually as yf true & p'fytte effice before or after the making of this p'sent acte were therof found for the kyng & seasures therof made into the kyngs hands accordyng to the lawes of this realme

"*Provided* alwaies that this acte nor eny thing therin conteyned be not in eny wise p'iudicyall or hurtfull to the lady Kateryn wydowe late the wyffe of the said Rice ap Gruffyth for or concernyng such right interest &c. as the said lady Kateryn hath or had for term of her lyff out of sayd lordshipps &c. at eny tyme before the seyd xxviith August in the sayd xxv yere &c.

"*Provided* alwayes &c. be not in eny wise p'iudicyall or hurtfull to Roger Corbett nor his heyres in respect to the right of the manors londs ten'ts &c. in hoggyston the advowson of the free chapel there Burton Owanston Wyllyamston howton Westfield & Baron lake in co. Pembroke or elsewhere in St. Davys land.

"*Provyded* &c. nothing hurtfull nor preiudyciall to Dame Jenet late wyff to Sir Rice ap Thomas Knt. grandfather of the said Ryce ap Gruffyth of or for such anuytie &c. as the same Jenet has or ought to have for term of her lyff out of sayd lordshipps &c.

"*Provyded* alwayes &c. nothing preiudyciall to Sir Piers Eggecombe nor to Dame Katheryn his wyff late wyff to Sir Gryffyth Rice Knt. father to the said Rice ap Gruffyth concerning such right &c. as the same Sir Piers and Dame Kateryn in the right of the same Dame Kateryn hath for term of her lyff out of said lordshipps &c."¹

¹ The jointures of the three ladies protected by special provisions in the Bill of Attainder were as follow :—Lady Jenett Res, widow of Sir Res ap Thomas, rents in Carmarthen and Emlyn, £45 : 16 : 10, besides £45 : 11 : 1, parcel of the Manor of Narbeth ; Lady Katherine Eggecombe, widow of Sir Griffith ap Res, rents in Wyley, Landemore, Abergwille, Eluett, Saintcler, Ewthcothe, and Llannenythe, and the town of Carmarthen, £72 : 5 : 7½ ; Lady Katherine Howard, widow of Res ap Griffith, the Lordship of Carew, Sandyhaven, Franches, Kylsane, and Pyboure, £177 : 4 : 9, besides £18 : 18 : 4 in Narbart.

When this act of attainder was being passed Rice's head was bleaching in the frost and snow on London Bridge, or wherever else it may have been that this particular evidence of the exercise of the royal prerogative of tyranny was exposed to view. No record seems to have been made of his place of burial, but it was probably in the chapel of the Tower. His tragic fate seems to have been viewed in his own country with indifference; one small fact tells its own tale on this point—no bardic lament seems to have been called forth by his untimely end.¹ The times were all out of joint. Ever since Christianity had supplanted Druidism, bardism, the offshoot of the latter religion, had allied itself to the former. And now bardism and Christianity, allied for a thousand years, but each vastly changed from the form of their first contact, had become alike effete. The older cult died of sheer inanition, the younger lived on, but had to pass through the drastic

¹ So far as I am aware there is not a single poem upon Rhys ap Gruffudd in the manuscript collections of the British Museum; but there is a *Cywydd* on Sir Rhys ap Thomas by Iorwerth Fynglwyd, and another *Cywydd Marwnad* by Lewis Morganwg, neither of which have been printed. It is clear from the State Papers that Wales was discontented with the King and his advisers. The imperial Consul at Venice, writing to Charles V on the 4th of August 1534, says he has been informed that on account of the Welsh people's love for the Princess (Mary), and the death of Don Ris, who was beheaded three years ago, the whole province was alienated from the King. A few months later Chapuys confirms this intelligence. He understands the Welsh are very angry at the ill treatment of the Queen and Princess, and also at what is done against the faith, for they have always been good Christians. Not long ago there was in the district a mutiny against the government of the country on account of a certain execution, when the government was very nearly undone, and it is said the people only wait for a chief to take the field.

Had Mr. Jones lived to revise this paper, the few sentences immediately following this point would have been materially altered or altogether omitted. He believed there was an esoteric element in Bardism, and entertained an idea of writing a paper upon the subject; but the above remarks not being very relevant to the subject in hand, he expressed his intention of remodelling or omitting them.—E. O.

ordeal of the Reformation. From this period the mysteries of bardism, such as they were, or perhaps it would be better to say into such a low state as they had fallen, became utterly lost, and when, fifty years later, an attempt was made to revive the bardic traditions, nothing could be got together but a lifeless congeries of fragments. More might be said on this subject, even on so small a portion of its aspect as that just glanced at, but I pass on. Lamented he must have been in his own country, but it was in such strains as linger in tradition. In England he was lamented also. Hale, the parish priest of Isleworth, and one Feron, are, 26 Henry VIII,¹ arraigned on a charge of high treason, part of their heinous treachery being that one had spoken to the other of the "noble and gentle ap Ryce, cruelly put to death, and he innocent, as they say, in the cause". For these and other words of disaffection they speedily found their way to Tyburn.

To get at all who suffered either in life or fortune in connection with this unhappy case would be impossible. Henry VII so managed it that "treason" became his best source of revenue. His son rather bettered this arrangement. In 1531² we have John ap Owen, late prisoner in the Tower, "who sometime was toward Rice Griffyth", released on payment of £26 13s. 4d. He must have been some small retainer of the lord of Carew, one of many, possibly, of whose contributions to the royal exchequer we know nothing; but there is James Griffith ap Howell mentioned in the same document, who has to obtain his pardon only on payment of £526 13s. 4d. He seems to have been previously mulcted in other large sums. They make out this gentleman to be an uncle of Rice Griffith's,³ and within

¹ *State Papers*, vol. viii, No. 609.

² *Ibid.*, vol. v, No. 657.

³ Froude, *History*, ii, p. 214. The following is Mr. Froude's note: "The conspiracy of young Rice or Richard ap Griffyth is one of the most obscure passages in the history of this reign. It was a Welsh plot conducted at Islington. The particulars of it I am unable to discover further than that it was a desperate undertaking, encouraged by the uncertainty of the succession and by a faith in pro-

the next two or three years we find his name again and again in the State Papers. He must have been a person of some consequence, for his movements are closely watched and reported to the Executive. In July 1533, he, with his wife and daughter and a retinue of ten persons, have made their way into Scotland, and the king of Scots appoints "a castle south-west of Edinburgh" as their temporary residence. Several of Cromwell's myrmidons keep their eye upon this personage. In May 1534, he and his are not far from Lübeck, in the dominions of the Duke of Holste. They are in Flanders or thereabout at Christmas in that year. One Stephen Vaughan, writing to Cromwell from Antwerp on Christmas Eve, speaking of them, says: "The knave sent his wife to the Queen of Hungary with an interpreter to show her grief. The Queen gave her one hundred guylden." Chapuys mentions him to Charles V (September 1534) as a Welsh gentleman who was a fugitive in Scotland and crossed to Ireland, hinting that he had gone there to stir up trouble. For once Chapuys' information seems to have been wrong; his personal estimate of him is of more value. He styles him "a man of courage and good sense, and of the principal lineage in Wales, who could put the King to terrible confusion by his partisans".

In 1535 the report is made that he had been "twice with the Regent in Flanders"; and an attempt is made by the Secret Service agents at Calais to implicate David Lloyd ap Owen, dwelling at "Maigham Cloyth, in Powezland", and "one of the richest men in Wales", and a sympathiser with, and abettor of, the obnoxious fugitive. The agent sketches out a plot for catching them both,¹ but his amiable suggestions appear to have fallen through.

phacies, to murder the King. Rice was tried in Michaelmas term, 1531, and executed. His uncle, who passed under the name of Brancetor, was an active revolutionary agent on the Continent in the later years of Henry's reign."—E. O.

¹ *S. P.*, vol. ix, No. 319.

The next year's State Papers contain several documents on the same subject.¹ Henry is so irate with the traitor, and so anxious to get him again within his clutches, that he writes three letters with his own royal hand, all in one day, to: (1) an agent; (2) the Consul and Senate at Nuremburg; (3) the Emperor Charles V, requesting the speedy arrest and extradition of this criminal, who, with one Henry Phillips, is travelling through Germany on his way to Italy. He describes him as "of low birth, and guilty of treason, robbery, manslaughter, and sacrilege". The king's interposition does not appear to have been attended with any great success, for the State Papers, as far as published (at this time there are none later than 1536), do not carry the story of James ap Griffith further than is here set forth. I am sorry that I am not able to identify this much persecuted gentleman, and fix his place in Welsh genealogy.²

An attainted person leaves little family record behind

¹ *S. P.*, vol. x, 1536, Nos. 254, 529-30-35, and 764.

² In the State Papers he is styled son of Sir Rhys ap Thomas' sister, but he is not amongst the list of Rhys ap Gruffuth's relatives scheduled to the papers concerning the latter's estate. He has been confused with an individual called Brancetor. Both were objects of suspicion, and their identity seems to have been mixed up by some of Henry's agents on the Continent. The last I can find of him is in a letter of the 6th of April 1537, from the celebrated Melanchthon, of which this is an abstract:—

"I have given these letters to an Englishman (James Griffith ap Howell), who asked me to commend him to you (Vitus Theodorus). He formerly held land of his own in which he could raise 12,000 soldiers, and was, moreover, Governor of Wales; but spoke rather freely against the Divorce. To him was particularly commended the daughter of the Queen [the Princess Mary], because she had the title of Princess of Wales; and therefore he grieved at the contumelies put upon her. He was afterwards put in prison, from which, after a year and three months, he escaped by making a rope out of cloth. I beg you to receive and console him; his exile is long, his misfortunes long, and he seems a modest man. Here he has asked for nothing." (*Letters*, xii, No. 845.)

It is plain that James ap Griffith had been romancing to the great Reformer.—E. O.

him. His confiscated estates are distributed amongst royal favourites,¹ or sold to the highest bidder, and his line disappears. In this case the royal clemency was so far exercised that the smallest and poorest of Rice Griffith's five residences, Newton, and the lands that went therewith, was restored to the attainted man's son, Griffith Rice, and by this means we learn that he had a son. If there was other issue it has not been recorded. With Griffith Rice the family name became fixed as "Rice". He, too, in some sort, was an inheritor of the family misfortunes. The pedigree preserved in the *Dale MSS.* informs us that "by killing a gentleman (though slaine at Boloigne) he forfeited a great part of his father's estate". But it appears to have been subsequently re-granted to him. Lady Katherine Howard,

¹ The entire possessions of Rhys ap Gruffudd fell to the Crown in virtue of the act of attainder; but they had already been in the royal possession, for No. 448, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v, is a *compotus* of William Brabazon of the issues thereof from Michaelmas, 22 Hen. VIII (September 1530), for one year ensuing. There is a letter from this William Brabazon and a Hugh Whalley to Cromwell, written from Carew the 26th of March, which has unquestionably been assigned to the wrong year in the *Rolls Calendar*. The *précis* is as follows: These worthies report that they are at Carew preparing for the safe conducting of the King's stuff. A chaplain of my Lady Howard's came with the King's command for her jointure, and asked leave to lie in the Castle that he might have the chambers wherein the stuff was cleaned. Suspected him, and searched his room where he lay. Found in an old bedstraw four boxes of evidences belonging to Narberth, Carew, and Kidwelly. In his coffer two pairs of fine sheets and a diaper tablecloth; in his bedstraw, four bowls of silver, double-gilt, a broken chalice, a silver parcel-gilt box, one gilt cover of a standing pot, a dozen silver spoons, and a silver-raven, worth by estimate £40. Do not think any one knew of it but he. Accused him of his craft against the King, but he little regarded it.

This is calendared under the year 1529, which must be wrong, for its authors are proved by other documents to have been fully engaged in the eastern counties in the March of that year, ransacking the contents of the monasteries that had been suppressed in order to found Wolsey's new college at Oxford. It should be assigned to either 1530 or 1531.—E, O,

or Rys, as she is indifferently styled, remarried Henry, Earl of Bridgewater.¹

Walter Devereux, Baron Ferrers of Chartley, eminent in many things wherein eminence in any age but that of the Tudors would be undesirable, steered his course with marked success till the year 1558, when he died.¹

Of Norfolk's complicity in the judicial murder of his hapless brother-in-law there cannot reasonably be two opinions. It is not the purpose of this paper to review the position he held as a Tudor minister, but this much must be said—Henry VII had honestly tried to conciliate both factions over which he governed, and several Yorkists, the Howards among them, had been received into such qualified favour as the cautious character of the King permitted him to display. They had pretty well a free hand in the earlier years of Henry VIII, but the instant a difficult situation arose their utter deficiency in statesmanship and ability was at once manifest. This situation was brought about by them in the spring of 1512. It is not too much to say that if Henry had not, at that crisis, discovered in his almoner (whom the Howard party doubtless, at that time, as heartily despised as they afterwards heartily hated) an adviser competent to retrieve the disasters which had befallen the English arms abroad, his reign would probably have been brought to an abrupt termination. There was plenty of material there ready for conflagration. But Wolsey's genius saved it from ignition, and at the same time laid the foundation of his own great and deserved power. The Yorkist nobility were relegated to the shade, and had no share in the splendours of Wolsey's administration. How distasteful this was to them may, if all other evidence

¹ A hiatus in the MS. occurs at each of these points, the author's intention having been to work out the careers of Lady Katherine Rys and Lord Ferrers at greater length. I believe also that, had he lived, he would have modified his condemnation of Norfolk, in the direction of regarding him as dragged along a course he did not approve by the imperious will of the King, rather than as an accomplice in the death of his brother-in-law.—E. O.

were obliterated, be gathered from Chapuys' letter to Charles V.¹

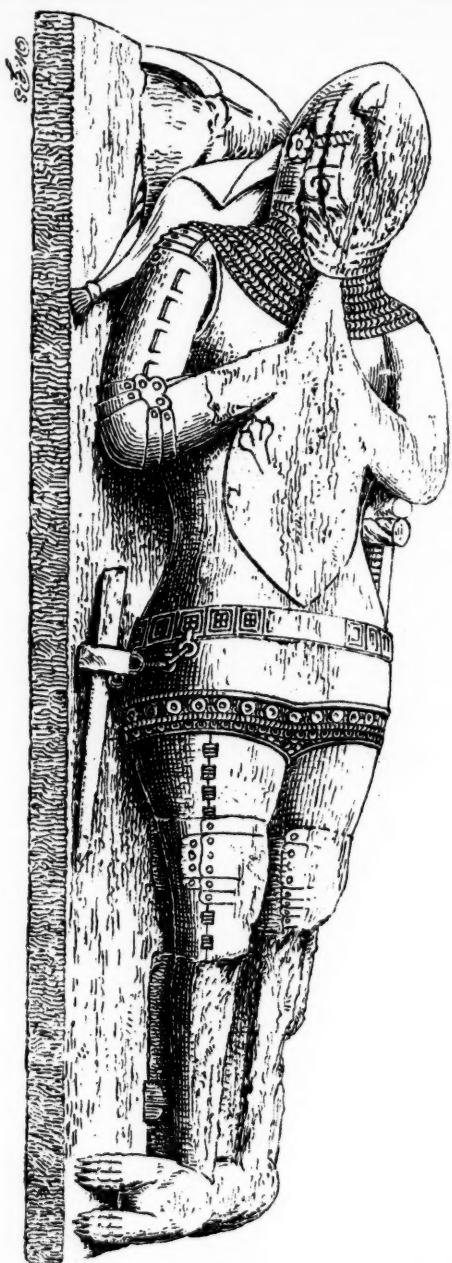
The plotting for the Cardinal's fall had persistently been carried on, and Norfolk was at the head of it. Between these noble conspirators there was a common agreement as to the price to be paid for having the chief administration of the kingdom in their hands: they were prepared to become the willing instruments of the King, and do his utmost bidding. No second "butcher's son", whatever his genius might be, should, if they could help it, become chief minister of England. To translate their doings into modern parlance, they "formed a syndicate" for the government of king and kingdom, and Norfolk was at the head of it. Once in the seat of honour, his ears were stopped to the cry of humanity and justice if the passions and caprices of the King demanded that these should be outraged. Family ties were all unloosened, and thrown by him to the winds. The man who could afterwards sit in judgment upon his own niece, the discarded wife of the King, and pass sentence of death upon her—the righteousness of which judgment posterity refuses to believe—was not likely to be much concerned over the distresses, merited or unmerited, of a brother-in-law. I accept as substantially true the statement in the *Dale MSS.*, based, as I take it, upon the Rice family tradition, that Rice Griffith fell "through the treacherous malice of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Norfolk". Immediately, he was, perhaps, but the callous agent of the hatred of the King; but secondarily there would be the gratification of seeing the descendant of a Lancastrian, and one who had been foisted upon him as a family connection by some combination of circumstances which he could not control, sent to the scaffold. It was quite as well to get rid of an intractable brother-in-law and an opponent of the views of the "syndicate" at one blow. Anne Boleyn's resentment, the King's hatred, and Norfolk's dislike, all converged to one

¹ *S. P.*, Henry VIII, vol. iv, No. 6026.

point; they were welded together—and the axe fell. How long it had been in the headsman's hands, so to speak, I leave it to those who have carefully followed the evidence here brought forward to determine.

This "Study of Family History and Tudor Politics" has now reached its close. Strictly "Cambrian" in its character, there are yet interwoven with it, and inseparable from it, questions of far larger range. To all of these, the narrowly Cymric and the widely imperial, I have attempted to work out the answer. In setting forth my case I may have committed many errors—its arrangement may be faulty, many points may have been overlooked, and of those discerned the skill of the writer may have been unequal to the task of making them as clear to other eyes as they are to his own. But whatever be the disadvantages under which the case labours in this presentation it still has palpably its own inherent and intrinsic interest from its high associations and its partial revelations, as well as from its complexities and obscurities, to render it one of the most important historical problems to which the Cambrian student has ever directed his attention.





SCALE 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 4 5 FEET

EFFICY. NORTHOP CH.

AS SMITH PHOTOGRAPH CO. QUEEN ST.
E.C.



SOME MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES IN WALES.

BY STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, ESQ., F.S.A.

IN continuation of my paper on this subject, which was published in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, July 1890, I propose now to deal with those monuments which were seen during the Holywell meeting of that year.

Among the most interesting of these are the effigies in Northop Church, near Holywell, of which there are four, inserted for their better preservation in niches in the north wall, and placed there at the time of a former restoration. Of these, Pennant, in his *Tours in Wales*, describes three, and the fourth was discovered in digging a grave in the chancel in 1798.

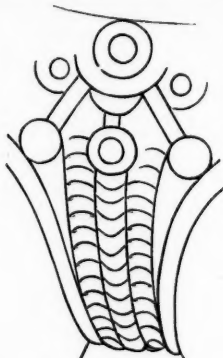
The last-mentioned monument is somewhat mutilated, the face having disappeared, the upper parts of the arms, hands, and the legs below the knees are broken away. A portion of the animal upon which the feet rested (probably "a lion couchant") has also been destroyed.

The figure is that of a recumbent knight, the hands conjoined upon the breast in the attitude of prayer. He wears on his head a bascinet, acutely pointed, and somewhat wedge-shaped; on this is an orle, or wreath of twisted silk ornamented with roses, which were probably of metal; and the loops to which the vizor was attached are also to be seen. From the bascinet depends the tippet, or camail of mail, and the mode of attaching it by laces to the bascinet is clearly shown.

The head rests on a tilting helm, which has a long mantling with a tassel, and is surmounted by an heraldic crest, *the head and shoulders of a man issuing out of a coronet*. This does not appear in the illustration, but is very perfect on the effigy.

The body armour is concealed by the jupon; the knight probably wore a breastplate under a mail hauberk, which appears beneath the jupon with a fringe of

rings, and beneath the hauberk is seen the *haketon*, which was a quilted garment ornamented with fringe; the quilting was arranged in vertical, parallel lines, and is just seen beneath the bottom row of rings of the hauberk. The upper part of the thighs and the lower part of the body were protected by a breech of mail, a somewhat uncommon arrangement, illustrated in the wood-



cut, which indicates the mode of fastening it below the hauberk. The *cuisses* which encase the thighs are remarkably short, and show a rim which forms the upper extremity. The *genouillières*, or coverings for the knees, of laminated plates ornamented with studs or rivets, are very simple in form; the legs are covered with hinged jambs of plate, and the spurs, which have large circular rowels, are fastened on the small part of the leg, just above the ankle.

The shoulders are protected by *épaulières* of overlapping plates, the arms are encased in *brassarts*, and the fore-arms in *vambraces*, all of plates and hinged; the *coudières*, or elbow caps, are very plain and simple in design, and were attached by means of straps. The *jupon* with which this knight appears clothed was introduced about the middle of the reign of Edward III. It was a species of surcoat without sleeves, which fitted tight to the figure, and was somewhat shorter than the skirt of the hauberk. It succeeded to the surcoat

and cyclas, differing from both in this, that it fitted tight to the body. It was made of silk, velvet, or other rich materials, and was almost invariably emblazoned with the armorial ensigns of the wearer, and at the bottom it was usually scalloped, or cut into some rich open-work pattern. It was laced at the sides, and in some cases quilted. The belt at this period was remarkable both for its splendour and for the singular method by which it was adjusted about the hips, so that it appeared immediately above the lower edge of the jupon. The belts were probably of leather, covered with embossed, enamelled, and jewelled metal plaques, fastened either with a rich clasp in front or by a buckle, in which case the end of the belt was adjusted in the same manner as prevails in the Garter of the Order.

From the hip-belt was suspended, on the left side, the long sword, with cross-guard, rich hilt, pommel (generally octagonal), and decorated scabbard; while on the left side, attached to the belt by a cord, strap, or chain, hung the *miserericorde*, or dagger. From about the middle of the first half of the fourteenth century the *miserericorde* is constantly represented in English effigies, whether sculptured or engraven, and, like the sword itself, it is shown sometimes secured to the person of the wearer by a chain fixed to the hilt. (See Brass of Ralph de Knevynton, A.D. 1370, 43 Edward III, in Alveley Church, Essex, illustrated in Waller's *Brasses*.)

Before 1380 the bascinet was very tall, but afterwards, though still acutely pointed, it was reduced in height. The bascinet was worn both with and without a vizor, but the camail was universal, and until about 1390 the lace or cord by which it was usually attached to the bascinet was without covering, and therefore visible. Later in the century, and until the camail itself ceased to be worn, the camail lace or other mode of attachment was covered by a plate, generally enriched, which formed a part of the bascinet. We have

an illustration of this method of attaching the camail in the very beautiful Mortimer effigy in Montgomery Church.

During the latter part of the fourteenth century effigies of warriors were no longer represented with shields. The great helm continued to be worn over the bascinet, but only when actual combat was imminent, either in the field or the lists.

Heraldic crests began to be worn a little before the first half of the fourteenth century had been completed, and as the second half of the century advanced they gradually were adopted by all warriors of high rank, and also somewhat later by all men of knightly degree. A flowing scarf, or *contoise*, was worn, with the earliest crests attached to the helm; but this gave way to the mantling, a very small mantle of some rich material, attached with the crest to the helm or bascinet, which was worn hanging down behind upon the shoulders. It generally ended in tassels, and had its edges jagged or scalloped. There can be very little doubt that its first intention was to protect the head and back of the neck from the heat caused by the rays of the sun beating down upon the polished steel helm or bascinet.

Upon reference to the illustration (No. 1) it will be seen that the above general remarks are peculiarly applicable to the effigy of the unknown knight in Northop Church. We have the jupon still showing traces of the heraldic emblazon on the breast, apparently, from fragments of the paws that remain, "*a lion rampant within an inescutcheon*". The sword passes through a loop in the belt, and the miserericorde is attached on the right side by means of a chain and swivel.

The late Mr. Bloxam once remarked "that the military effigies in Wales of the fourteenth century are many of them very different from those of the same period in England, and we are in want of some Welsh MS. of the period describing the details of armour, etc." This

is undoubtedly so, and in the effigy we are now considering there are several peculiarities not observable in English effigies of the same date, the short *cuisse*s for the thighs, the breech of mail, the very simple and somewhat rude defences for the knees, and the peculiar position of the spurs, worn so high up above the ankles.

In many respects this monument resembles the sepulchral effigy of a knight in the chancel of Llanfair Caereinion Church, Montgomeryshire, illustrated and described in *Montgomeryshire Collections* (vol. x, p. 133), the date of which is about A.D. 1405. The armour of the Northop effigy probably dates about 1395 to 1405; the mutilation of some of the more important features increases the difficulty of assigning a date to it, but I think we may pretty safely assume that it belongs to the latter part of the fourteenth century, or very early in the fifteenth.

The identification of the individual who is represented may possibly be ascertained by means of the crest on the helm, and I trust some of our members who are adepts at Welsh heraldry will undertake the task of finding out what family in this part of Wales bore the crest I have described, and whose shield bore a lion rampant within an inescutcheon, for there is little doubt that such was the emblazon on the jupon.

In the south aisle of Llanasa church, which was also visited during the Holywell Meeting, is a well-carved sepulchral slab, bearing a leopard or lion rampant on a shield, and inscribed, in Lombardic capitals, HIC . IACET . GRVFFYD VACHAN. Here we have another clue, perhaps not very satisfactory, but one that I trust may hereafter be worked out. Pennant also mentions four stone coffin-lids dug up in the churchyard of Bangor Iscoed. One of these has a lion rampant on a shield, inscribed HIC . IACET . ITHEL . CADWGAN. The "*man's head couped at the shoulders*" is an heraldic cognisance of the Vachan or Vaughan family.

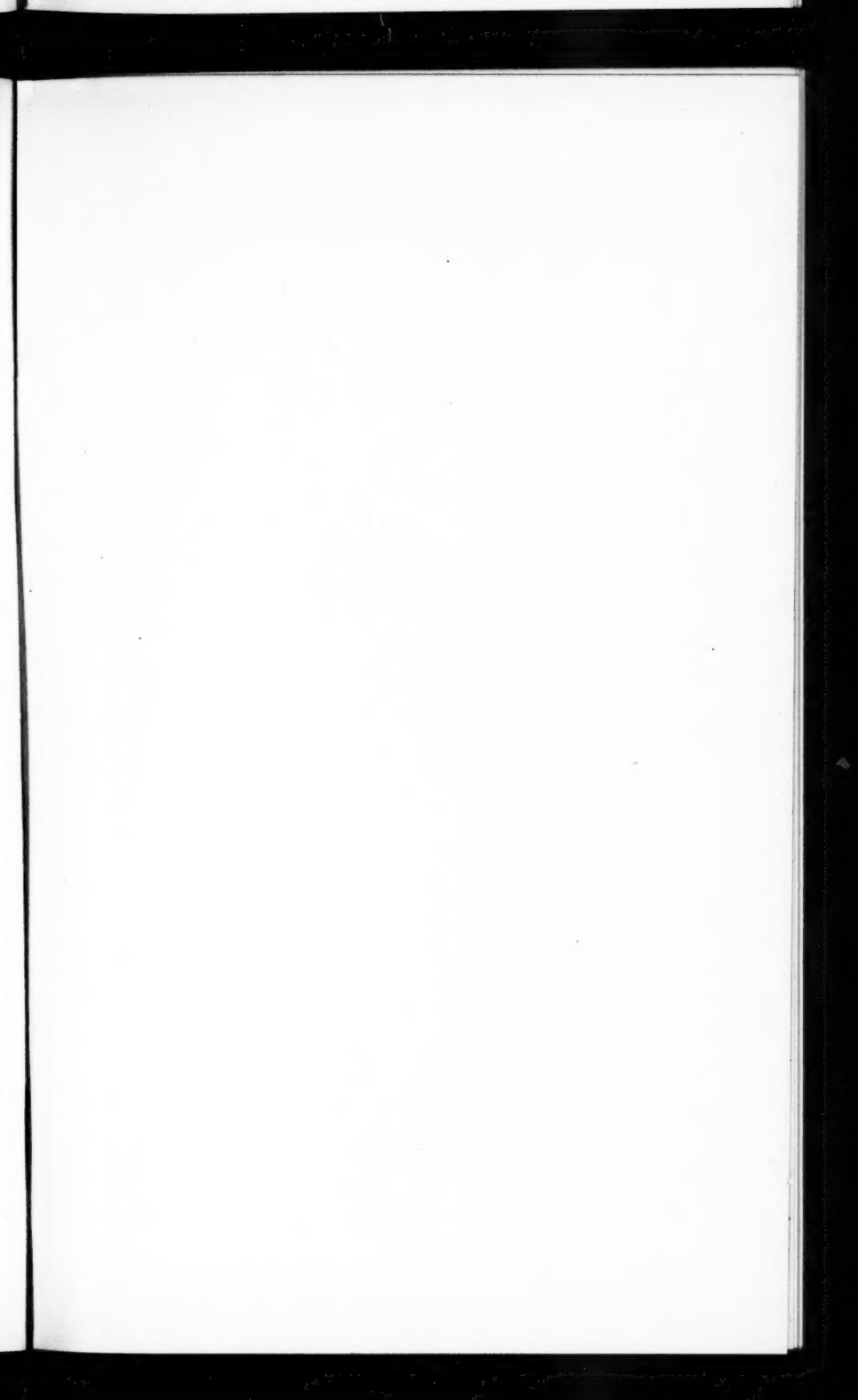
The other effigies in Northop Church were thus

described by Pennant in his *Tour in Wales*, 1770, ed. 1778, p. 84.

"NORTHOP.—The church is dedicated to St. Peter. The body is long and embattled, the tower lofty and handsome. Within are three effigiated tombs, one of a fat knight whose name is lost and figure much injured by time. Another, of a short warrior, completely armed, and in good preservation; on his shield is a *cross pattée*, charged in the middle with a mullet between four others. The inscription is thus: *Hic jacet Ith. Vach. ap Bledd. Vach.* I suspect him to be a captain of *Englefield*, mentioned in the pedigree of the Humphreyses of Bodlewyddan, and said to have been interred here. The third is of a lady, inscribed *Llew...*, and *Anno Domini*, 1402. According to tradition her name, *Lleuci Lloyd*, a celebrated beauty of that period, perhaps the same who was beloved by a noted bard, who, coming to visit her after long absence, met with the same shock as the Chevalier de Rancé did, for each found their beloved in her coffin. The bard fainted at the sight, revived, and composed an elegy on her. The Chevalier retired from the world and founded the Abbey of La Trappe, famous for its religious austerities."

The effigy of the lady is in very fair preservation, and is a good example of the costume worn by ladies (whose husbands were of knightly rank), at the close of the fourteenth century and during the reign of Richard II. It resembles, in some respects, the brass of Margaret, widow of Sir Fulke Pennebrygg, in Shottesbrooke Church, Berkshire, who died in 1401. (See vol. i, Fairholt's *Costumes in England*, p. 160, edited by Hon. H. A. Dillon, F.S.A.)

Pennant, in his first edition of the *Tours in Wales*, makes the date of this monument 1402, in the second edition it becomes 1482, and in the report upon the Holywell meeting (*Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. viii, p. 60) it is stated to be 1472; upon the drawing by Mr. W. G. Smith, from which the illustration has been





SCALE OF 12 9 6 3 0
 FEET

EPHICY, NORTHOP CH.

photo-lithographed, it appears very clearly to be 1382. This latter date was obtained from a rubbing of the inscription, and it was also carefully measured and drawn by Mr. W. G. Smith, and is therefore no doubt correct.

The headdress of the lady and the manner in which the hair is arranged exactly corresponds with the fashion prevailing in 1382; it may well be compared with the effigy of Elinora, wife of Sir Arthur Basset, in Atherington Church, Devon, illustrated in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies* (ed. 1832, Plate 100, p. 78). The hair at this period was worn in a gold fret, or caul of network, surmounted frequently by a chaplet of goldsmith's work, a coronet, or a veil, according to the wearer's rank or fancy, as we see in this case, where it assumes the square form. The dress appears to consist of a close-fitting kirtle, with tight sleeves, closed by numerous little buttons to the wrist, worn underneath a sleeveless surcoat or long gown, fastened over the shoulders by a broad band, from which it depends in front, falling in narrow plaits to the feet, which are covered with pointed shoes. The gown is confined at the waist by means of a girdle with a long pendent strap, and is buttoned down the front with small buttons in sets of three, set at regular intervals below the waist, and above in a close row, as on the arms. Round the neck, and hanging nearly to the waist, is a rosary of large beads with pendent ornaments attached thereto.

The head rests upon a square cushion beneath an elaborate canopy of late Decorated work, richly carved; the arch, springing from a peculiar form of ball flower, is crocketed, and in the four-centred arch we trace the commencement of the Perpendicular period of architecture. The feet rest upon a lion couchant, similar to the effigy of the knight first described.

This monument is especially interesting as a study of costume, as we have here a dated effigy, which enables us to see what was the apparel of a Welsh lady of rank

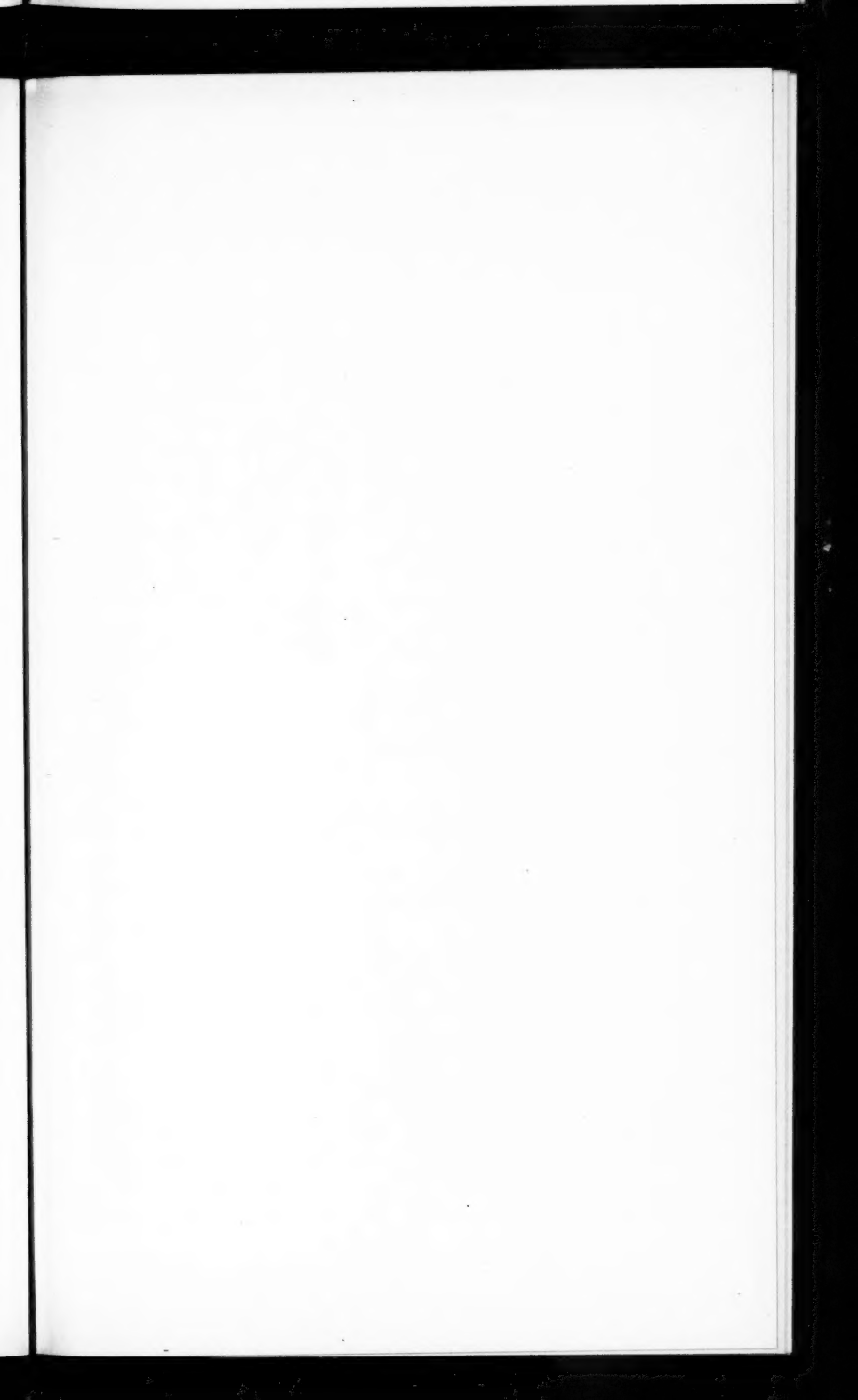
at the close of the fourteenth century, and I am not aware of any other monument in Wales which gives us so complete an example of the national dress of the Welsh ladies at that period. We see that in the fashion of wearing the hair they approximated closely to the style of their English sisters, but in the matter of dress they did not adhere to the prevailing habit at that time; the outer garment, with its square-cut body and close plaits, reminds me very much of some of the dresses we saw in Brittany during our excursion there in 1889.

Pennant does not attempt to identify the lady whose monument we have been describing, but states that, "according to tradition, her name was *Lleuci Lloyd*, a celebrated beauty of that period". To Mr. Edward Owen, who has very kindly promised to contribute some notes upon the Northop effigies, I leave the task of identifying not only this lady, but also the other two knights. As to Pennant's "fat knight", any attempt to identify him would, I fear, be impossible, on account of his battered condition.

Of the third effigy, Pennant says that "the inscription is thus: *Hic. jacet. Ith. Vach. ap Bledd Vach.*" The letters are late Lombardic capitals, and appear on the monument as "HIC : JACET : ITH : VACH : AP : BLED : VACH.", which has been rendered, "Here lies Ithel Vychan ap Bleddyn Vychan."

Mr. Edward Owen has furnished some notes and a pedigree of the family of Ithel Vychan ap Bleddyn Vychan, which will be published in the next number of the Journal. He ascribes this monument to an Ithel ap Bleddyn who flourished between 1350 and 1395.

In an article upon Ewloe Castle, in the *Arch. Camb.*, January 1891, Mr. T. B. Davies-Cooke mentions that Ithel ap Bleddyn was living A.D. 1329; that it was his grandfather, Ithel Anwyl ap Bleddyn, to whom Prince Llewelyn gave the castle to hold for him, as well as the manor, and "who is said to have lived



in the castle, and to have been buried in Northop Church, where, it is added, is his tomb. He was one of the Captains of Teg Eingl, whose duty it was to keep the English off. He bore for his arms, party per pale, *gules* and *or*, two lions rampant, adorsed, counter-changed in pale, an armed sword pointing downwards, *argent*, hilted and pomelled *or*."

If these are the armorial bearings of the grandfather they were not borne by the Ithel ap Bleddyn who is represented in the Northop effigy. Let us now see how far the style of the effigy and the characteristics of the armour will agree with the dates given above, and upon the assumption that we are dealing with a period comprised between 1354 and 1386.

This effigy is in fairly good preservation, and possesses several features in common with the first described monument, more especially in the knightly belt, identical in design and pattern, the metal plaques with which it is ornamented being exactly the same. The effigy, however, is of earlier date, and presents types of armour that are peculiar to the earlier as well as the latter half of the fourteenth century.

The head is covered with a bascinet, wedge-shaped, and with a peculiar mid-rib, not unlike that seen upon the unnamed effigy in Ash Church, Kent, illustrated in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies* (1st ed., 1832, p. 54), and also seen, but not so much developed, in the effigy of Sir Roger de Kerdeston, A.D. 1337, in Reepham Church, Norfolk; and also of the type worn by Sir Robert du Bois, A.D. 1311, as seen in his effigy in Fersfield Church, Norfolk. (See Stothard, p. 52.) The mail attached to the bascinet, as shown in the illustration (No. 3), descends as low as the bottom of the forearm.

The appearance of the upper part of the jupon is very peculiar, there being apparently no means whereby it was secured over the shoulders, and it so far resembles that of Sir Oliver Ingham, A.D. 1343, illustrated by Stothard (see p. 55, ed. 1832), inasmuch as in that case the camail, falling over the shoulders, hides

the upper part of the jupon, but the falling over of the camail is very clearly shown. In the Northop effigy there is apparently on the drawing no appearance of anything of the kind, or of the camail of the bascinet being a distinct piece of mail from the hauberk. This, however, may be an error in the drawing, or may not be clearly defined upon the effigy. Upon the jupon are emblazoned the wearer's armorial ensigns, *a cross paté charged in the middle with a mullet, between four others*, the hauberk of mail descends below the bottom of the jupon, which is cut out, or escalloped in an ornamental pattern.

The knightly belt is, in design, exactly the same as the one worn by the later effigy, first described, and if the theory is correct that the unknown knight is the husband of the lady who died in 1382, and that he was a kinsman of Íthel ap Bleddyn, he may have inherited this knight's suit of armour and probably his belt. The clasp of the belt is in the form of a shield decorated with a rose—in the later effigy this portion is broken away. From it depends, on the right side, his miserericorde, which apparently is very similar in both effigies; the sword is suspended from a separate narrow belt worn round the waist. This is typical of the middle part of the fourteenth century. (See the effigy of Sir Humphry Littlebury, Stothard, ed. 1832, p. 59.)

The engraving in Pennant's *Tours in Wales* shows this effigy on the opposite side to the illustration which accompanies this paper, and in it the sword and shield are both seen; the latter is hung over the right shoulder by a broad strap called the *guige*, and is emblazoned with the same arms as on the jupon. We know that after the middle of the fourteenth century the fashion of wearing shields was discontinued, and they cease to appear upon the monuments of the latter part of this century.

The head is laid upon a tilting helm, which is crested with a lion's head; and the feet, resting upon a lion couchant, are covered with laminated sollerets of plate

with pointed toes ; the overlapping plates are es-calloped.

The gussets of mail under the armpits are protected by circular plates or roundels of ornamental design, and a similar protection covers the junction of the *demi-brassarts* and *vambraces* at the elbows, which are covered by *coudières* of very elegant form and uncommon pattern. The roundels are similar to those on the Blanchfront effigy, A.D. 1346, and on those of the effigy of Sir Roger de Kerdeston, A.D. 1337. (See Stothard, ed. 1832, pp. 38 and 54.)

The hands are covered with gauntlets of plate of very distinctly middle fourteenth century type, and have a somewhat later look than the portions of the armour above described. The thighs are encased in plate, and the *genouillières* are, as in the first effigy, peculiar and evidently of a Welsh type ; nothing exactly like them is seen in English effigies of this period. The legs are apparently covered with *chausses* of mail, and further protected by *jambes* of plate covering the front and outside of the leg, and secured by straps.

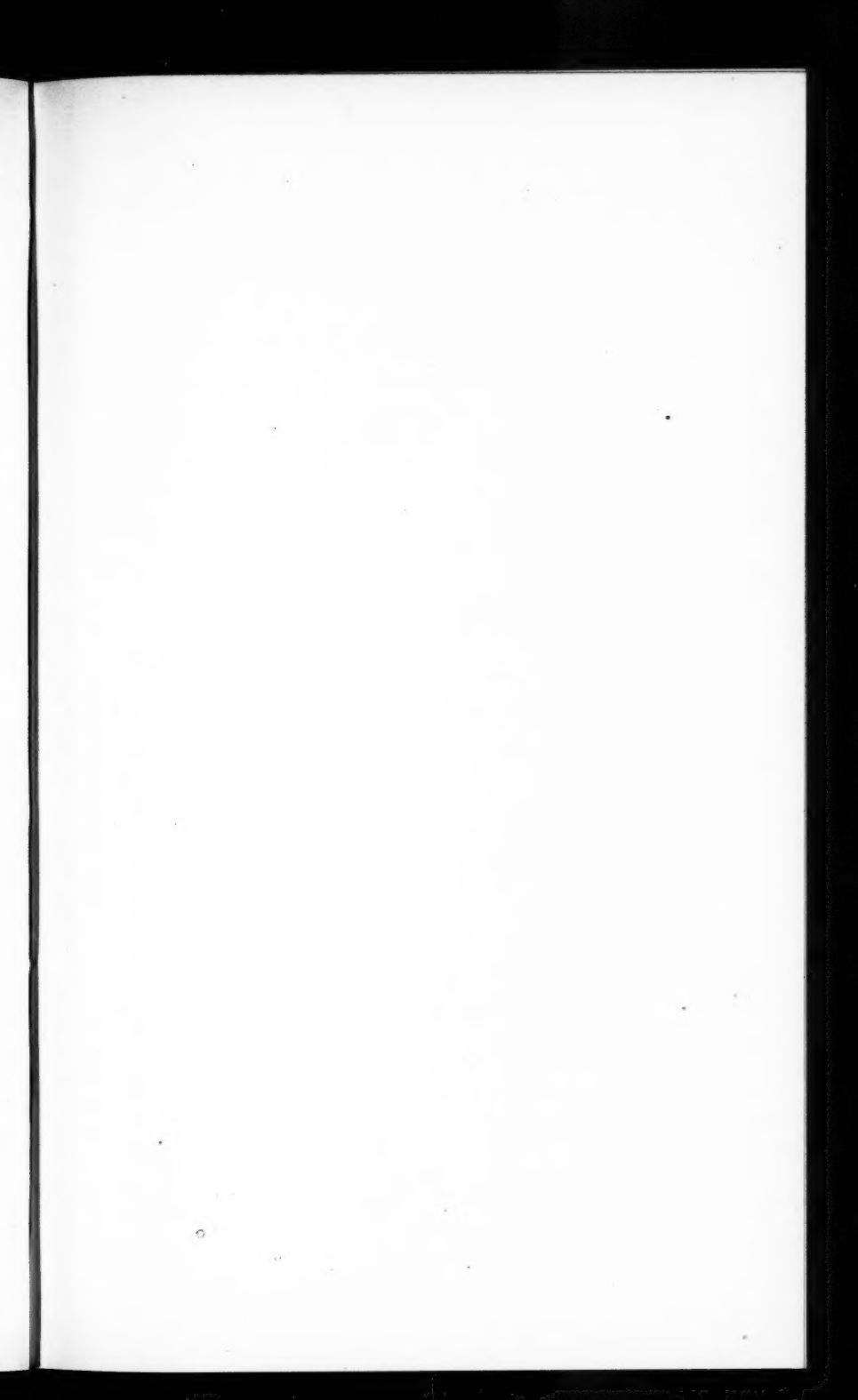
It will be observed that the coverings of the arms, thighs, and legs are ornamented with rivets or studs running in parallel lines along the joints, and also indicating how the plates were hinged ; this is another local peculiarity. They may also indicate that the plates were of very thin steel, and padded underneath with leather or other material, fastened to the back of the plates by the studs. Studded armour prevailed about the middle of the fourteenth century, as may be seen in many of the effigies and brasses of that period. There is, in the Powys-land Museum at Welshpool, a suit of Persian armour which admirably illustrates the studded *pourpointerie* seen in early fourteenth century effigies ; the thigh pieces are of very thin steel, padded at the back, the padding fastened to the metal by rivets passing through to the front and secured with rosettes of gilded brass, exactly as we see in many of our English effigies.

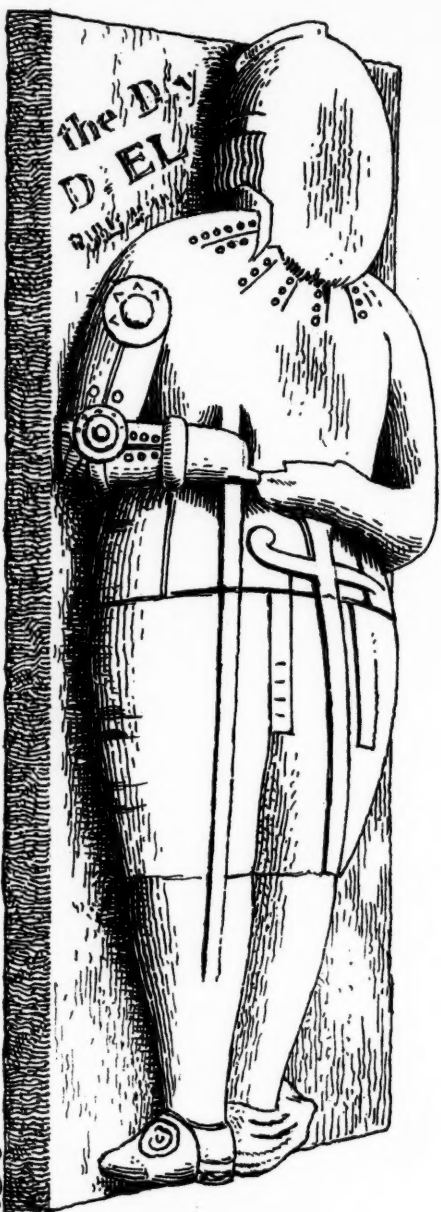
If this were an English effigy I should be disposed to date it not later than 1365, but assuming that it is intended for the Ithel ap Bleddyn who lived until 1386, and possibly a few years later, we have here an instance of a man being represented on his tomb in the armour which he had worn in the earlier part of his life, or that living, as he did, in a remote part of the country, and during a transitional period of armour, he was too conservative in his ideas, or perhaps not wealthy enough to change it in accordance with the prevailing fashion at the end of his life.

The monument may have been erected during his lifetime; the inscription is not dated. It probably would have been, if carved after his death. It cannot be doubted that in very many cases, possibly with but few exceptions, the individual is represented exactly in the armour and costume that he had habitually worn, and where, as in this case, there were specialities of detail, it may be assumed that this was so. It is also possible that Ithel ap Bleddyn inherited part of his armour from his father or some other immediate ancestor, and, looking at the illustration, one cannot help feeling that there is a certain appearance of incongruity about it when compared with an English effigy, which bears out the late Mr. Bloxam's view that the armour in Wales in the fourteenth century differed considerably from that worn in England at the same period.

Armour at all periods was very expensive to purchase, and was always looked upon as a valuable possession, to be handed down from father to son. In all probability the gentry of North Wales who were of knightly rank were not so rich as the same class in England, and instead of purchasing from time to time an entirely new panoply as the fashion changed, they would have their ancestral suits altered and improved by the local armourers, Wrexham and Chester being probably the places where such artificers would be found in the Middle Ages.¹

¹ "There are two poems, in MSS., by Gutto 'r Glyn, who wrote between the years 1430 and 1460, addressed to 'Abad Davydd', or





SCALE OF 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 FEET.

OFFICE. NORTHOP CH.

ALBANY, N.Y. 12202. 90 QUEEN ST.



In *Arch. Camb.* (vol. xiv, Ser. 4, pp. 127-129) is an illustration, with description by the late Mr. Bloxam, of an effigy in Bettws y Coed Church; and in vol. ii, 5th Series, pp. 192-193, of one in Llanwehllyn Church, also illustrated and described by him; and in this latter case we fortunately have a dated monument, viz., A.D. 1370, and in both cases they are identical in details with the Northop effigy, and they most undoubtedly prove that in ascribing this monument to the latter part of the fourteenth century we have fixed a date when armour of the type described was worn by at least three North Wales gentlemen of knightly rank, whose tombs still remain.

As for the effigy called by Pennant "the fat knight", it is almost impossible to say what it is intended to represent, or through what vicissitudes it has passed. It has been cut into three pieces, and shortened, the legs and feet turned outwards. The latter appear to be covered with a pair of Elizabethan shoes with rosettes. The thighs look as if they were once intended to represent the huge, bombasted breeches of Queen Elizabeth's reign; the staff carried in the right hand and the sword under the left appear to be later additions; the radiating lines and dots on the neck and shoulders look like an attempt to show the ruff of that period.

The only feature that is fairly perfect is the right arm, and here we get a brassard and vambrace of plate with rivets, roundels, and a *coudière* like an early fourteenth-century effigy, but utterly out of proportion and impossible in form. It is just possible that part of this monument was originally the effigy of Ithel Anwyl ap Bleddyn, who, it is stated, was buried in Northop Church, and that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was altered into "the portraiture in stone" of some neighbouring magnate by a local monumental sculptor,

David the Abbot. The object of them seems to be to thank him for a sword and buckler, of exquisite workmanship, manufactured at a shop in Wrexham."—*Arch. Camb.*, vol. i, 1846, p. 25.

who may have either utilised some portion of an early fourteenth-century figure, or attempted to copy the other monuments in the church, and succeeded in producing the very ugly object which "the fat knight" now presents.

At Holywell Church, Flintshire, there is a mutilated effigy of a priest, with a maniple, holding a chalice against his breast, which is illustrated in this number of *Archæologia Cambrensis*. It has been very well drawn by Mr. W. G. Smith; for although the effigy has lost its head, and the feet have disappeared, sufficient of the details of the eucharistic vestments remain, enabling us to form some idea of the probable date of this monument.

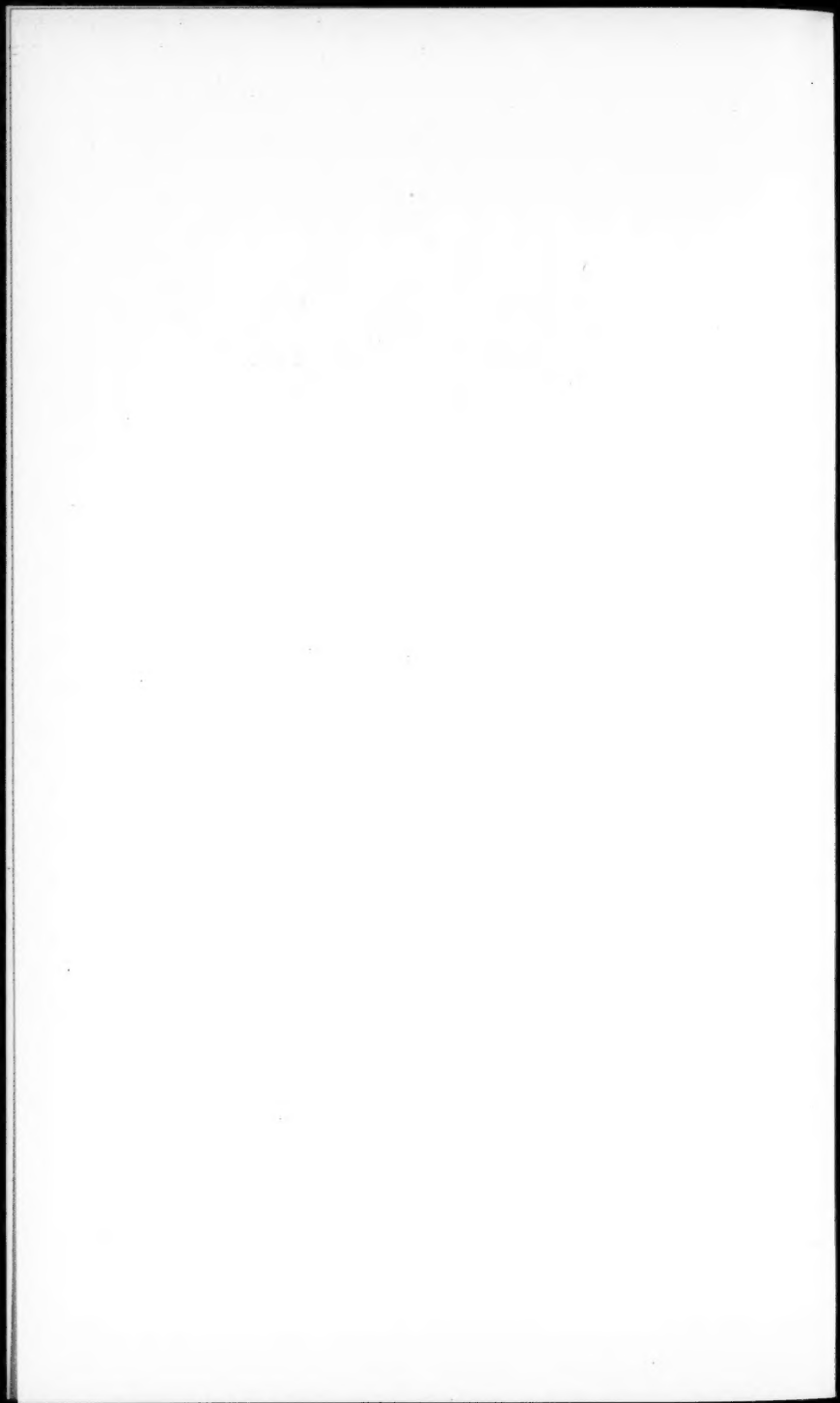
Bloxham, in his *Companion to Gothic Architecture* (p. 9), says, "It is to Durandus, Bishop of Mende, who flourished in the thirteenth century (he died A.D. 1296), that we are indebted for a work upon the vestments of the Church, known as *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum Gulielmi Minacensis Ecclesie Episcopi*."

"The first published edition of this work is one of the earliest printed books of the fifteenth century, and several editions of it have since been published. As a ritualistic work it is perhaps the most complete and valuable we possess written on that subject in the middle ages. In the third book he treats of the vestments, with their mystical signification. An archbishop, *Pontifex*, about to celebrate, put off his ordinary garments and put on those which were clean and sacred. And first he put on his sandals; 2nd, the amice; 3rd, the alb, reaching to the ankles; 4th, the girdle; 5th, the stole; 6th, the tunic; 7th, the dalmatic; 8th, the gloves; 9th, the ring; 10th, the chesible; 11th, the maniple; 12th, the pall; 13th, the mitre; 14th, the pastoral staff, *Baculum*. These the writer likens to the spiritual armour spoken of by the apostle. He tells us that six of the above were common alike to priests and bishops, namely, the amice, alb, girdle, stole, the maniple, and chesible; and that nine were specially

EFFIGY
HOLYWELL CH



INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 FEET



worn by those of episcopal rank ; namely, stockings, sandals, the episcopal girdle, *succinctorium*, the tunic, dalmatic, gloves, the mitre, ring, and pastoral staff.

"Then he treats of the six sacerdotal vestments severally and at length with regard to their mystical significations, and first of the *amice*, worn about the neck and over the shoulders, called also the *super-humerale* : this was fastened in front of the breast by two bands or cords. After the amice came the *alb*, a linen garment or tunic fitting close to the body, reaching to the ankles, and girt about the body with a *girdle*, *zona seu cingulum*. Over the alb was worn the *stole*, *orarium sive stola*, hanging down from the neck, right and left, crossed in front of the body, and fastened beneath the girdle. This was worn in a different fashion by a deacon to what it was by a priest. Next came the *maniple*, anciently carried in the left hand, but subsequently worn over the left wrist ; this was also called the *fanon* and *sudarium*. Over all these the chesible was worn (*casula seu planeta*) ; this was the principal vestment, and without this no celebration could take place."

In the Holywell effigy the eucharistic vestments are worn over a cassock, *toga talaris*. This is seen in the close-fitting sleeves which are visible beneath the folds of the chesible, which is long and pointed in front, but apparently short and cut square behind. There are traces of the amice, with a fragment of its parure, round the neck.

The alb appears to be quite plain, falling to the level of the feet, and devoid of any parure in front of the skirt.

The stole is not seen ; it is concealed by the length of the chesible, which is acutely pointed, and much longer than in ecclesiastical effigies of a later period.

The maniple, which is worn over the left arm, is quite plain ; the hands grasp a chalice of early form, indicated by the shallow cup, but very long in the stem. The outline of the chalice may well be compared

with the one lately found near Dolgelly, and illustrated in *Arch. Camb.*, vol. vii, 5th Ser., p. 245.

There is a very interesting incised effigy of a priest lying beneath a semicircular arch in the north wall of Corwen Church, Denbighshire, illustrated in *Arch. Camb.*, vol. ii, p. 241, representing him holding a chalice, the upper part of which is like the Holywell example, but it is not so long in the stem, as may be seen by the position of the hands, which, instead of being one above the other as at Holywell, are conjoined round the stem. The outline of the chalice in the thirteenth and early part of the fourteenth centuries appears, from the way it is represented upon the incised slabs that so frequently were used as memorials of ecclesiastics, to have gradually developed from a shallow to a deeper cup-like form, and on an incised slab at Clixby, in Lincolnshire, illustrated in Boutell's *Christian Monuments in England and Wales*, p. 62, we have depicted a chalice of the very same outline, with a long, slender stem, as in the Holywell effigy.

Taking into consideration, therefore, the plainness of the vestments, the freedom of design in the arrangement of the drapery, and the peculiar form of the chalice, I believe we shall be perfectly safe in assigning this effigy to the thirteenth century, probably in the latter part of it; and in assuming that it represents a priest of Holywell of that period.

(To be continued.)

Reviews and Notices of Books.

ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES IN FRANCE. By the Rev. J. L. PETIT. New edition, revised by EDWARD BELL. London : George Bell and Sons, 1890. Small 4to., pp. 402, with numerous illustrations.

FEW writers have done more to make the true principles of Gothic architecture generally understood than the late Mr. J. L. Petit, and we cannot therefore be too grateful to Mr. Edward Bell for having issued a revised edition of his work on the churches of France, which was originally published as far back as 1854, and has been for a long time out of print. Mr. Petit's merits as a pioneer in the study of our national style of architecture are rather under- than over-estimated in the concluding passage of the editor's introduction. Mr. Bell says: "No one appreciated more fully than he did the truth so often ignored by popular writers, that the history of English architecture cannot be properly understood without a knowledge of the foreign sources from which it was derived. In this respect he is a worthy follower of the able men who first systematised the study of mediæval building. He, perhaps, was the first to detect, as we may observe both in this work and in that on Church architecture, the peculiar position occupied by Norman architecture, and its actual historical connection with complete Gothic, into which it was merged. A satisfactory account of mediæval architecture, based on a rational and historical conception of the subject, has yet to be written. When it is undertaken Mr. Petit's works will be found to abound in useful material, and it is hardly too much to expect that he will rank with Hope, Rickman, Whewell, and Willis as one of the pioneers in the history of art."

The Author's Preface contains a pretty full exposition of his views on the subject of architecture, and the relations between the different phases of Gothic in this country and on the Continent. Mr. Petit very justly gives credit jointly to the English and the French for having evolved the Gothic style of the thirteenth century out of the Romanesque style which preceded it. He says: "The Italian never did reach to Northern Gothic, which I must always consider as the true Gothic, however fully I may admit the great beauty and interest of the Southern Pointed styles. The German transition appears to me to be scarcely more than a peculiar form of Romanesque, having little or no tendency to further progress, and unlikely, unless under some external impulse, to pass away without developing any decided style. Those which have, at the time I refer to, any life or movement, at least in the direction of Northern Gothic, are the French and the English, and these, I think, may be shown to have an inherent

and independent vitality of their own—either would have lived and advanced to perfection without the aid of external influence. Whatever connection may have existed between them undoubtedly strengthened and advanced both, but the germ of progress was in each independently, and showed itself by movements in a great measure independent of each other. The comparison between the two styles shows this: the similarity shows the identity of their aim; their difference, the independence of their action."

There is, indeed, so much worth quoting in the Author's Preface that we hardly know where to stop. Mr. Petit seems to have had a wonderful insight into the first principles which underlie all great art, and nearly half a century ago he told us that as long as we remained mere servile imitators of dead styles there could be no real progress. He was bold enough to say that the better the imitation was the worse the art, and that "our object is not, or ought not to be, to produce a building which might be mistaken by the antiquary for a specimen of a particular period or country, but one fitted in every respect, in reality as well as appearance, for its purpose, and sound and correct in its design, its construction, and its ornamentation." This was written as far back as the time of the Crimean War, yet it is only a week ago that the Society of Antiquaries had to protest against an eminent architect, who is also a Royal Academician, being allowed to pull down a building of Sir Christopher Wren's, at Lincoln Cathedral, in order to substitute for it a sham fourteenth-century Gothic cloister.

The bulk of the volume is taken up with careful, appreciative, and critical descriptions of the various churches in France visited by the author, but there are also chapters on "Variety of French Styles", "Geometry of Vaulting", "Roman Work", and "Modern Style". The whole is copiously illustrated from drawings by the author and Mr. P. Delamotte. It is undoubtedly a great advantage when an author is not only possessed of a pleasant style of writing, but can use the pencil as well as the pen. Mr. Petit had a peculiar style of drawing with thick, bold lines that once seen could not be mistaken. Those who have the back volumes of the Ilam Anastatic Society's publications will doubtless be familiar with the appearance of his sketches. Small details are merely indicated, but Mr. Petit has few rivals in the art of representing a building by its general mass, and the grouping of its component parts. He was a man who could think in a space of three dimensions, a rare quality in a student of architecture.

The only matter for regret is that in Mr. Petit's observations of the churches which he saw he appears to have been so absorbed in the constructive problems presented by the different buildings that he neglects to take note of the sculptured details, or ecclesiastical features of any kind.

The great constructive problem, to the different solutions of which most of the beauties of Gothic are due, is how to roof over the area enclosed by the walls. Compared with this every other problem is of

minor importance. The Church of St. Ours, at Loches, near Tours, which is described at considerable length, is roofed over in a way that is perhaps unique. The nave is covered by two octagonal stone pyramids, like an ordinary church spire, producing a very cavernous appearance in the interior. Another solution of the problem is to divide the ground-plan of the church into squares, and cover each with a dome supported at the corners of the square on four enormous clustered piers of masonry. Of this method the Church of St. Front, at Périgueux, is perhaps the best known example. The chapter on vaulting, which Mr. Petit seems to have thought necessary to make his subsequent descriptions intelligible, is rather too mathematical for the general reader, and more suitable for an appendix. He thinks, and no doubt rightly, that the designer of a building should aim at the greatest accuracy that is scientifically attainable, and leave any inexactness to the workman who carries it out. He says: "In the works of nature, the highest, as well as those nearest our reach, we perceive the law of exact design and inexact execution. The latter term I must be understood to use in no irreverent sense, but to apply it to deviations from the more prominent plan, themselves also being designed by a wise Providence, and for great and salutary purposes."

A description is given in chapter iv of the Church of St. Michael, in the Puy de Dom, which occupies a most remarkable position on the summit of a pinnacle of rock, reminding one of similar dedications to St. Michael at Glastonbury Tor, Skellig Michael, and the St. Michael's Mounts in Cornwall and Brittany.

Mr. Petit's *Architectural Studies in France* is valuable principally on account of the number of suggestive ideas it contains. It is a book that stimulates thought, and will help towards the formation of a new style of architecture, developed out of past styles, but not copied from them.

HISTORY OF SLIGO. By Col. W. G. WOOD-MARTIN. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1892; 8vo. pp. 510, with numerous illustrations.

Col. Wood-Martin is already favourably known to archaeologists by his valuable works on *The Lake Dwellings of Ireland*, and on *The Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland*. He now claims a place amongst the county historians of Ireland, of which there are none too many, the third and concluding volume of his *History of Sligo* having just been issued from the press. It deals with the period from 1688 to the present time.

In a journal devoted exclusively to Welsh subjects any extended notice of the purely local part of the work would be quite out of place. The chapters on the "Manners and Customs", and on the "Superstitions and Legends", and also the Appendix, containing extracts from the "Field Name Books" of the Ordnance Survey, are of more general interest. Rush-lights appear to have been in use

in the county of Sligo during the last century, and Col. Wood-Martin gives an engraving of one of these now obsolete appliances on p. 344. Students of folk-lore will find variants of many well-known beliefs that exist elsewhere related in the chapter on superstition, such as the following: "If you dream three times in succession that gold lies buried in a certain locality, you should there excavate, but the work must be carried on at night, and when you go in the morning to inspect your treasure, lo! it is withered leaves or poor mouldering bones. The only way to avoid the spell of the 'good people' is, before commencing operations, to sacrifice a black cat, or a black cock, on the site of the proposed exploration, and the gold, if found, retains its true characteristics." Misfortune is believed to pursue anyone who digs into an ancient rath, and it is not considered safe to venture too far into the underground passages connected with it. It is a great pity such a useful superstition is not more generally prevalent throughout Great Britain. Several instances of the existence of trees and bushes covered with pieces of rag, close to holy wells, are mentioned by Col. Wood-Martin. He also says that some of the wells contained trout, which were considered sacred.

The Christianity of Ireland still contains a very considerable admixture of paganism, and many extraordinary customs illustrating this are practised in the county Sligo. On the island of Innismurray and elsewhere are to be seen altars surmounted by a motley assemblage of round stones of various sizes, which are believed to possess miraculous healing properties, and are used also for swearing on, and for the purpose of cursing. In the latter case the superstitious rite is performed in the following manner: "During ordinary pilgrimages, whether at holy wells or altars, the 'round' described as being taken is from left to right, following the course of the sun; but when vengeance is to be invoked against an enemy the opposite course is adopted. The suppliant commences from right to left, turning the stones thrice, an imprecation against his enemy being previously, each time, uttered; but if his adversary be innocent, then the imprecations recoil upon the individual uttering them." Col. Wood-Martin gives illustrations of the altars and of some of the cursing-stones that are ornamented with crosses.

In connection with the subject of the legends of Sligo it is interesting to learn that the memory of the old Celtic romance of *The Pursuit of Dermot and Grania* is still preserved in the names of some of the rude stone monuments of Ireland, which are called by the peasantry the "beds of Dermot and Grania".

It will be seen from the few points on which we have been able to touch how much there is to interest the archæologist in Col. Wood-Martin's latest contribution to Irish county history. We wish the work all the success it deserves, and, if we may venture to prophesy, the success it is sure to attain.

BYE-GONES RELATING TO WALES AND THE BORDER COUNTIES, Vol. i.
Second Series. Oswestry and Wrexham: Woodhall, Minshall,
and Co.

This is an old friend determined to renew its youth by blossoming out into a second series. For twenty years it has pursued the path of usefulness which it was designed to follow by its founder, the late Mr. Askew Roberts, and it is not too much to say that the aims and intentions with which it set forth upon its career have been more than realised. The volumes comprising the first series are amongst the most prized possessions of the antiquary, while the eagerness with which a set is snatched up in the book-market is a good evidence of their lasting popularity.

The new series inaugurated with the present volume promises a continuance of the useful and attractive features that make its predecessor a necessity to the Welsh and border archæologist. *Bye-Gones* has always been honourably distinguished from other works of its class, especially those relating to Wales, for the quantity of perfectly fresh information it contains, and the same excellent policy continues to prevail. Probably the most valuable contributions in the present volume are those of Mr. Egerton Phillimore on "Race-Names in English Mailor". Though directed against derivations and meanings that have appeared in the pages of this *Journal*, we recognise the astonishing fulness and accuracy of Mr. Phillimore's topographical knowledge, and the admirably lucid explanations of difficult Welsh place-names. Another feature worthy of particular mention is the excellently condensed reports of papers read before the different societies upon Welsh history and antiquities. *Bye-Gones* has long ago justified its existence by the law of the survival of the fittest, which prevails as much in the intellectual as in the natural sphere, and, as a worthy handmaiden to our own *Journal*, we can only express the hope that it may, in the future, command an ever-widening sphere.

THE SCIENCE OF FAIRY TALES. By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, F.S.A. (The Contemporary Science Series.) London: Walter Scott, 1891. Crown 8vo., pp. 372. Price 3s. 6d.

ENGLISH FAIRY AND OTHER FOLK-TALES, selected and edited by E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, F.S.A. (The Camelot Series). London: Walter Scott, 1891. 8vo., pp. 282. Price 1s.

It is, perhaps, hardly worth while wasting powder and shot on showing up the detestable system of bringing out in the form of a series, with a catch-penny title, a number of small books containing homœopathic doses of knowledge on every conceivable subject under the sun, compiled by authors good, bad, and indifferent. The object of adopting this method of publication seems to be that the un-

suspecting general reader may be gulled into purchasing the works of inferior writers in order to complete a series containing at most one or two contributions of value towards contemporary science. Setting aside the fact that Mr. Sidney Hartland has so far given his approval to the odious system complained of as to allow each of his books to form one of a series, we have little else but praise for his own work, as distinguished from that of his colleagues.

The beliefs of our childhood have received many a rude shock at the hands of the critical historian. Of William Tell shooting at an apple neatly balanced on his son's head, as of King Alfred burning the cakes, we can only say, quoting Hans Breitmann's *Ballads*, "Where is dat barty now?" Nevertheless, we thought that at least the domain of Fairyland was safe from the intrusion of the ubiquitous man of science. Quite recently one of our most *fin de siècle* mythologists solemnly told us he was not quite sure whether King Arthur was a sun god, or a culture hero, or a Roman governor, or something entirely different, in which latter case it might be necessary for him, in the light of new facts, to reconsider all that he had previously said about him. Surely this was bad enough, but now Mr. Hartland has added the last straw required to break the camel's back by making fairy tales a subject for scientific investigation, in the course of which he upsets for good and all our most cherished belief in what he is pleased to call the *Lady Godiva legend*, forsooth!

However, having once admitted the necessity of treating fairy tales scientifically, no one could be better fitted for the task than Mr. Hartland. He is able to illustrate his theories from apparently inexhaustible stores of knowledge of the folk-tales of all countries; sometimes, indeed, although not often, one becomes almost bewildered by the number of variants of different tales that are brought forward to throw light on a particular point. Unless the reader adopts the favourite plan pursued by ladies when anxious to find out the plot of a novel, and reads the last chapter first, he will not always be able to understand the drift of the author's argument clearly.

Mr. Hartland's conclusions, as stated in his last chapter, are, "that the fairies of the Celtic and Teutonic races are of the same kind as the supernatural beings celebrated in the traditions of other nations, and that all superstitions of supernatural beings are explicable by reference to the conceptions of savages." The ascertained facts of savage thought and savage life, upon which Mr. Hartland founds his theories, are (1) the doctrine of spirits, i.e., "that it is possible for the spirit to quit the body and roam at will in different shapes about the world, returning to the body as to its natural home; that in the spirit's absence the body sleeps, and that it dies if the spirit return not; further, that the universe swarms with spirits, embodied and disembodied, because everything in the world has a spirit, and all these spirits are analogues of the human spirit, having the same will and acting from the same motives, and

that if by chance one of these spirits be ejected from its body it may continue to exist without a body, or it may find and enter a new body—not necessarily such an one as it occupied before, but one quite different; (2) the doctrine of transformation, *i.e.*, the belief held by savages in the possibility of a change of form while preserving the same identity; and (3) the belief in witchcraft, or the power of certain persons to cause the transformations just mentioned, and to perform, by means of spells or symbolic actions and mystical words, various other feats beyond ordinary human power." These beliefs, originating when all mankind was in a savage state, have, in the different stages of the evolution of civilisation, "everywhere left their mark on the tales and songs, the sayings and superstitions, the social, religious, and political institutions—in other words, on the belief and practice of mankind."

Mr. Hartland goes on to say: "We have found Fairyland very human in its organisation. Its inhabitants marry sometimes among themselves, sometimes into mankind. They have children born to them, and they require at such time female assistance. They steal children from men and leave their own miserable brats in exchange; they steal women, and sometimes leave in their stead blocks of wood animated by magical art, or sometimes one of themselves. In the former case the animation does not usually last very long, and the woman is then supposed to die. Their females sometimes in turn become captive to men. Unions thus formed are, however, not lasting until the husband has followed the wife to her own home, and conquered his right to her afresh by some great adventure. This is not always in the story, presumably, therefore, not always possible. On the other hand, he who enters Fairyland and partakes of fairy food is spell-bound—he cannot return at least for a number of years, perhaps for ever, to the land of men. Fairies are grateful to men for benefits conferred, and resentful of injuries. They never fail to reward those who do them a kindness, but their gifts usually have conditions attached, which detract from their value and sometimes become a source of loss and misery. Nor do they forget to revenge themselves on those who offend them; and to watch them when they do not desire to be manifest is a mortal offence. Their chief distinction from men is in their unbounded magical powers, whereof we have had several illustrations. They make things other than they are, they appear and disappear at will, they make long time seem short or short time long, they change their own forms, they cast spells over mortals and keep them spell-bound for ages."

Mr. Hartland does not agree with the rival theory of Mr. MacRitchie, "that the fairies of the Celtic and Teutonic races are neither more nor less than the prehistoric tribes whom they conquered and drove back, and whose lands they now possess."

The speculations contained in chapter iv of the *Science of Fairy Tales*, as to the probable origin of what the author believes to be the Lady Godiva myth, are extremely ingenious, and no doubt the arguments brought forward to show that the legend and procession of

Lady Godiva are merely survivals of a pagan belief and worship located in Coventry, will be convincing to many. The evidence upon which the author's conclusions rest are as follows :

"1. The absence for historical foundation for the tradition.

"2. The close resemblance between the tradition and other stories and superstitions which unquestionably deal with heathen goddesses, such as Berchta and Hertha.

"3. The equally close analogy between the procession and that described in Eastern stories.

"4. The occurrence of a similar procession at Southam.

"5. The connection between the analogous legend of St. Briavels."

In chapter vi a great deal of extremely interesting information has been brought together relating to the legends attaching to many ancient drinking-horns, cups, and chalices, which declared that they were robbed from Fairyland. Amongst the most celebrated of these is the "Luck of Edenhall", belonging to Sir George Musgrave of Edenhall in Cumberland.

The story of the Lady of the Van Pool in Carmarthenshire, and many other Celtic traditions referred to in this excellent little book, will be read with great interest by all Welshmen. Archæology by itself cannot hope to solve the numerous problems that it has to face every day, but by the help of such able workers in kindred branches of science as Mr. Sidney Hartland, it will be able to achieve much that was previously impossible.

The other volume under review, *English Fairy and other Folk Tales*, is not so intimately connected with archæological studies as the *Science of Fairy Tales*, although some of the stories bear indirectly upon them. Everyone should read the "Legend of the Rollright Stones", which relates the misfortunes that befell a farmer who was wicked enough to remove one of the stones forming this well-known megalithic circle, in Oxfordshire. The nursery tale of "Tom Tit Tot" is perhaps the most cheerfully amusing one in the book, and if a sufficiently weird and gruesome antidote is required, we can turn to the legend of "The Demon Tregeagle", who is still expiating his crimes by endeavouring to perform the impossible and endless tasks set before him in the roar of the sea as it breaks on the wild iron-bound coast of Cornwall.

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

FREE LIBRARIES AND THE PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COUNTIES. A paper read before the Library Association at Nottingham, 18th January 1891, by JOHN BALLINGER.—

The immense reduction in the cost of photographic apparatus, consequent upon the discovery of better and easier methods, has led to a rapid increase in the number of people who choose photography as a recreation, and now, wherever we go, the amateur photographer is either present or very near. The pursuit is a pleasant one to those who follow it, and seems to exercise a fascination over its devotees, if we may draw a conclusion from the number of amateurs who attain to excellence.

This spread of photography has been followed, as might be expected, by the establishment of photographic societies in many towns, and I suppose there is hardly a county in England which does not contain one or more societies. Several of these societies are now engaged in making systematic pictorial representations by means of photography of the districts in which they are located; and the object of this paper is to direct the attention of librarians to the value of these surveys, and to urge the desirability of securing prints from the negatives taken for preservation in the public libraries.

First as to the value of the surveys. This will be best indicated by an outline of the work attempted. In the photographic survey with which I am most familiar an attempt is made to secure photographs of all prehistoric, early British, and Roman remains, such as camps, cromlechs, early crosses, inscribed stones, and Roman roads; of all buildings and places of interest likely to be removed or altered, the interior and exterior of cathedrals, parish churches, chapels, abbeys, or other ecclesiastical buildings, together with photographs of any special features, such as rood-screens, carved chests, monuments, and crosses, or any special architectural features; likewise of castles, manor houses, and other dwellings, and the contents of such buildings, such as family portraits, or portraits of celebrities, old furniture, carvings, documents, etc.; views, too, of the coast line, docks, shipping, the streets, and principal buildings in towns, and any other objects typical of the county, or associated with local history or the history of the greater world beyond. Particular attention is given to places and objects liable to decay or removal. I do not mention the scientific side of the question, such as the photographing of geological strata, boulders, and other phenomena, because in the survey which has come under my notice this is a separate department, under the direction of the curator of the museum.

Secondly : Where should the results be deposited ?

The value of such a set of photographs, both to the present and future generations, will, I think, be at once apparent, and the question arises : How can the work of different photographers be best brought together and be made available for use now, and be at the same time preserved for use in the future ? To allow the photographs to remain in the sole possession of those by whom they were taken, to be exchanged about amongst themselves and their friends, would be to defeat almost entirely the object of the survey. The societies may say, and I believe some societies have said, that the results should belong to the society. But this is not satisfactory, because except by grace of the members the very man who might make important use of the prints might not be able to get access to them, and, unless the society be a very strong one, it will *not attract that co-operation from outside photographers*, amateur and professional, which will be necessary for success.

These remarks point to some public institution, easily accessible, and with a reasonable prospect of *permanent existence*, as the most desirable depository for the results of a photographic survey, and if the institution selected possesses an officer who is capable of appreciating, and therefore properly caring for the prints, so much the better.

All things considered, therefore, I think that the reference department of a free public library is probably the safest and most convenient place for depositing the survey record. The principal library in the district will probably be selected as a *central* depository, but the other libraries in the county should not be overlooked, and, supposing copies of all the prints cannot be sent to each, then the special *pictures relating to the district* should be supplied, and also the most important photographs of historical objects and places in the county.

Thirdly, the method of securing the survey. If a survey is already in progress the library committee or the town council might make an application to the society or individuals engaged in its promotion, pointing out the advantages of having a safe and permanent depôt. But where a survey is not commenced the subject should be at once brought to the notice of photographers by the library committee or the librarian, and the importance of the undertaking pointed out. And it will be a good thing, if possible, to secure the interest of some ardent photographer or antiquary who will make the survey a hobby, and determine to carry it out, or at any rate to begin even in the face of discouragements. Every effort should be made to enlist the help of professional photographers and of amateurs who work independently. It is important to hunt up old and forgotten negatives of places perhaps equally forgotten or only dimly remembered, and to get prints from them—if necessary, defraying the cost of printing.

After a year or two of work it would be well to try an exhibition of the results, and perhaps even to offer prizes for the best collections. Here is a schedule of classes from such an exhibition :

1. Gold, silver, and bronze medals respectively for collections of photographs illustrating Glamorganshire past and present.

One silver and one bronze medal in each of the following classes :

a. Collections illustrating that portion of Monmouthshire (New-port included) within twelve miles of Cardiff.

b. Collections illustrating the churches and chapels of Glamorganshire.

c. Collections illustrating Cardiff, past and present.

d. Collections illustrating Glamorganshire castles, mansions, religious houses, and crosses.

e. Collections of lantern slides, illustrating the county of Glamorgan.

f. Collections of lantern slides, illustrating Cardiff, past and present.

This competition attracted 787 prints, many of them of great excellence, and all of value for the survey. It has put the survey work on a sound basis, by showing the importance and interest of the photographic record, by enlisting the interest of the public, and securing the assistance of many photographers who had hitherto not been attracted, and last, but equally important, by encouraging those already engaged in the work. On all hands surprise has been expressed at the revelation made by the pictures as to the number of places and things of historical interest in the county, and many items unknown or overlooked have been pointed out. The lantern slides were used during the exhibition for evening demonstrations, with limelight, and greatly added to the attractiveness of the exhibition. They will be available, subject to certain regulations as to security, for lectures and entertainments.

And now for a few words as to the arrangement and preservation of the collection.

It is undesirable to have any stipulated size for the prints, but a standard size for the mounts should be adopted and adhered to as closely as possible. We use 17 ins. by 15 ins. mounts.

Cards are preferable for mounting, but cartridge paper may be used.

Small prints may be placed two or more on one mount.

Contributors should be allowed to mount their own prints, adhering to the standard mount where possible, or to supply unmounted copies.

The subject, date when taken, and name of the photographer should be supplied in writing with each print, and notes, such as "*removed 18* ", "*rebuilt 18* ", or other facts, where necessary, should be added.

While not excluding silver prints, an effort should be made to secure all prints in a more permanent process, such as carbon or platinotype.

The collection may be bound either in districts and sub-districts, with special volumes for particular subjects, such as a cathedral or abbey, or the work of extensive contributors may be kept together,

with "miscellaneous" volumes for the smaller contributors, a subject index being provided.

Whichever method be adopted, a copy of the 6.-in. Ordnance Maps of the county should be obtained and the objects numbered in red ink, a corresponding number being placed in red on or against the print.

Any printed references to the subjects should be noted either on the mounts or on interleaves, and original information should be carefully collected and added from time to time.

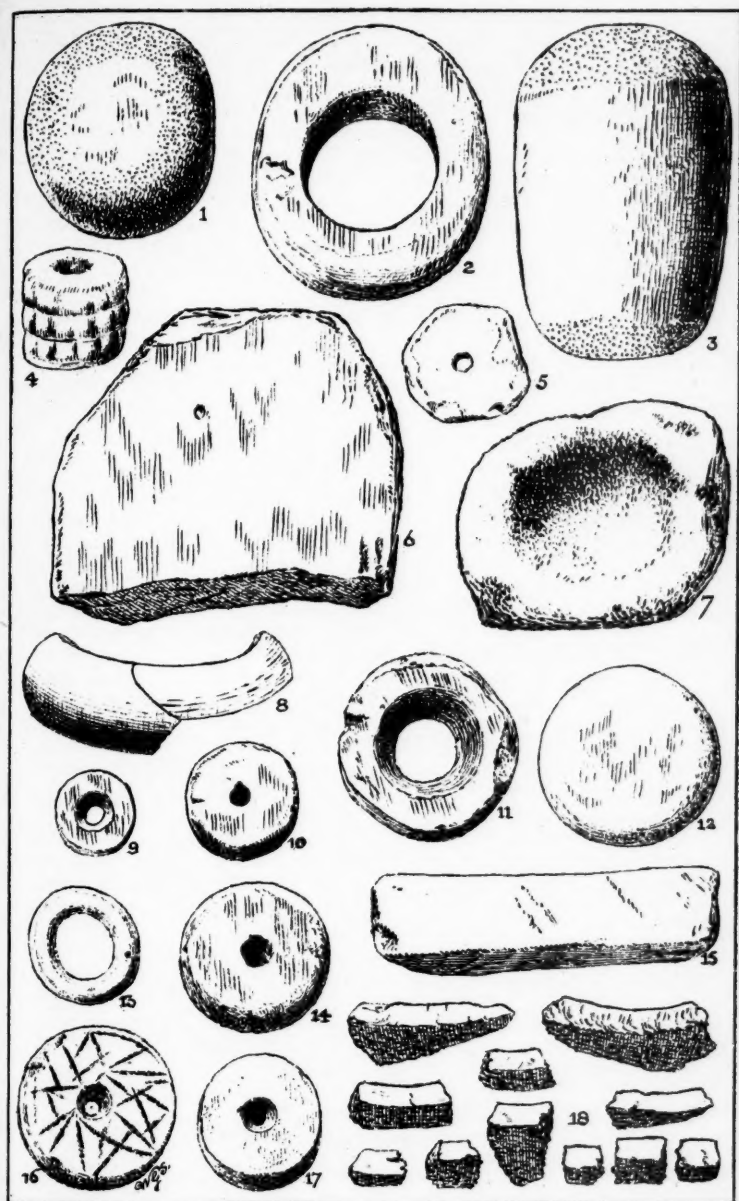
Descriptive readings should be prepared to accompany the lantern slides.

Many developments of the value of such a survey will ensue once the work is fairly in hand. I have brought the subject before you with a view to encouraging immediate action in the interests of libraries and of historical research.

(A paper read before the Library Association at Nottingham, by JOHN BALLINGER.)

BRITISH ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT PLAS-BACH, NEAR CERRIG CEINWEN, ANGLESEY.—The farm of Plas-Bach is situated a mile and a half south-west of Cerrig Ceinwen, and about the same distance north-east of Bodorgan Station, on the Bangor and Holyhead Railway. I was spending a day there in the spring of 1889, and as I was walking along one of the fields I was astonished to find a quantity of spindle-whorls, pieces of pottery, crucibles, teeth, etc., scattered all over the field, and on inquiring of the tenant of the farm how these things came there, he told me his men had been top-dressing the land with a material they had found near at hand. Upon digging from 1 ft. to 1½ ft. deep they had come upon a quantity of black stuff which he showed me, and which I at once recognised to be charcoal. I obtained the tenant's permission to dig in the same spot, and he kindly allowed two of his men to assist in the work. We reached the charcoal at the depth of about a foot and a half, and this was resting on what must have been the floor of a hut dwelling. It was quite hard and black, and covered with stones scattered in every direction, having probably been deposited here when the field was levelled a long time ago. Amongst these stones I found the antiquities shown on the Plate. These are as follows:

1. Stone muller, abraded.
- 2, 11, and 13. Stone rings.
3. Hammer-stone, abraded at both ends and slightly polished by contact with the hand of the user.
4. Clay bead.
5. Piece of Samian ware perforated, probably for use as a spindle whorl.
6. Fragment of a hone, or grinding-stone.
7. Crucible.
8. Fragment of an armlet of jet.



ANTIQUITIES FROM HUT-CIRCLES IN ANGLESEY.





9, 10, 14, 16, 17. Spindle-whorls.

12. Stone disc.

15. Small hone.

18. Fragments of a cup of Kimmeridge shale.

Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, has kindly examined the objects, and expresses his opinion that they are a "mixed lot", consisting partly of things undoubtedly Roman, such as the jet armlet and some of the pottery, and partly of native British things, like the hammer-stones and sharpening stones.

In addition to the antiquities illustrated I found two whole mullers, four broken ones, half of a saddle-quern, several spindle-whorls, stone balls, polishers, whetstones, a pounder, and some copper slag. About twenty yards from the place just described I picked up an adder bead, the smallest I ever saw, of a light green-coloured glass.

J. E. GRIFFITH, F.L.S.

Upper Bangor.

WREXHAM CHURCH.—(*To the Editor of the "Wrexham Advertiser".*)

SIR,—I am glad to find that the alterations proposed in the parish church will not involve so much destruction as rumour at first gave forth. Nevertheless, I most sincerely regret that it should have been thought needful to touch the structure itself. Of course, whatever is necessary to keep the fabric in repair should be done, and I do not deny the advantage which would result from opening out fully the chancel arch, and removing the western gallery. But if this advantage can only be secured by spoiling the chancel, I would myself rather, a hundred times over, see the organ remain where it is. That the proposed alterations will spoil the chancel, as seen from the outside, and involve other deplorable results, is to my mind quite clear. Cannot the east end of one of the aisles be utilised as a place for the organ, if the latter *must* be removed? In any case, I hope the Wrexham people will not allow anything to be done to the parish church which they will hereafter regret. The woful havoc wrought at the so-called "restoration" in 1867 ought to be a lesson for all time.—I am, etc.,

19, King Street.

ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

SIR,—The project for enlarging the old parish church by putting a new chamber on each side of the chancel deserves special attention.

The building is an architectural ornament to the kingdom, and should not be altered in design and appearance without the most urgent necessity. The disfigurement and discordance caused by attaching new pieces of stonework will be irretrievable. We shall be abolishing a portion of the glory of our town. An ancient church is unmanufacturable and unrestorable. The rich Americans can beat us in big modern erections, but they come over to the old

country to gratify their instinctive longings to see the handiwork of their great ancestors, covered with the bloom that only the hand of Time can produce; this bloom being unpurchaseable, they cannot get it at home. On landing at Liverpool many of them proceed first to Chester to slake their thirst for the beauties of antiquity. Here they are disappointed to find that the old Cathedral has been patched all over, wherever an excuse could be found for taking out an old stone and putting in a new one. Some of them decide on coming a dozen miles further to see our famous church tower and the grave of Elihu Yale. Why should we commit the folly of abolishing the old, which they venerate, and replacing it with new, which they don't care about, and which money can produce anywhere?

The reason usually given for movements of the sort is that more room is required in the church. It is remarkable that in Wrexham this reason is not mentioned. All that is wanted is a rearrangement of the position of the organ and the choir. Therefore it logically follows that no additional chambers are required as long as only the same number of people are to be accommodated. The church is large enough, and too large for an average voice to reach all the congregation. On this subject it will be well to call attention to the position of the pulpit. Formerly it was in a more forward situation, but at "the restoration" it was placed close to the chancel. It ought to be brought forward at least as far as the first pillar. It must be painful to keep the voice highly strained to fill the place, and it must be painful to those at the west end to listen, especially as most preachers have an aggravating way of dropping the voice at the close of emphatic passages.

It may be remarked also that the church need not be enlarged in anticipation of increased congregations. The population of the centre of Wrexham, like that of "the City" portion of London, is probably decreasing. The magnates of High Street, whose predecessors slept over the shops, now live in the outskirts, where there is new church accommodation.

The architect's report says: "A single narrow passage to the altar is an almost intolerable arrangement where there is a large number of communicants." This is not obvious, as there is sufficient room for two streams of people, one inwards and the other outwards, and they need never walk in more than single file.

By adopting the proposed scheme we shall be tampering with the architectural proportions as left by the grand old designers when the chancel was erected three to four hundred years ago. The church and tower are now in unison, but when the two recesses are filled up with conspicuous new work at the east end, the effect on the eye will be to alter the balance, and to increase the apparent bulk of the church in relation to the tower, as well as to destroy the harmonious proportion of the chancel, leaving only a stumpy apse. Repose will give place to discord, like that produced by a new ribbon on an old bonnet, but whereas the ribbon may become

antiquated in a month, the stonework will require a century, and then will look 300 years newer than the old walls.

The following extract from Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* is worth reading :—

“ Watch an old building with anxious care, guard it as best you may, and at any cost, from every influence of dilapidation. Count its stones as you would the jewels of a crown, set watches about it as if at the gates of a besieged city, bind it together with iron where it loosens, stay it with timber where it declines, do not care about the unsightliness of the aid—better a crutch than a lost limb, and do this tenderly and reverently and continually, and many a general tion will still be born and pass away beneath its shadow. Its evil day must come at last, but let it come declaredly and openly, and let no dishonouring and false substitute deprive it of the funeral offices of memory. I must not leave the truth unstated, that it is no question of expediency or feeling whether we shall preserve the buildings of past times or not. *We have no right whatever to touch them.* They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us. The dead have still their right in them : that which they laboured for, the praise of achievement, or the expression of religious feeling, or whatsoever else it might be which in those buildings they intended to be permanent, we have no right to obliterate. . . . They are *vested* in us only, and belong to all their successors.”—
I am, etc., J.

Wrexham, April 11th, 1892.

THE VICARAGE OF HALOWELL.—I recently met with the annexed documents. They relate, as will be seen, to a dispute between Robert Pygot, *clerk*, Vicar of the parish church of Halowell (Holywell), and one Robert, Prior of the Monastery of Basingwerk, Thomas — (blank in the original), a monk of the said house, Griffith Vaughan, John Pennant, David Pennant, Thomas ap Ryce, Henry ap Kynck ap Penned, Howell ap John Tona Elys Baghe, and Griffith Mone, who had been instigated by Nicholas Abbot of the said Monastery, to commit the offences with which the vicar charged them. The documents are a Bill and Answer, filed in the Star Chamber in the reign of Henry VIII ; there is no year mentioned, but the offence appears to have been committed on the 16th day of August preceding the date when the petition was filed. Doubtless some of your readers, from their more intimate acquaintance with the locality and the families of the persons named, than the writer is, will be able to fix the date, or an approximate date.

The complainant does not appear to have been known to the Ven. Arch. Thomas, M.A., when he published his valuable *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, as a vicar of Holywell. There are a good many other papers which relate to Wales in this Star Chamber series, which would be interesting if published in the pages of the

Journal of the Society, and, it may be added, others relating to the border counties, notably Shropshire. E. ROWLEY-MORRIS.

Warren House, Tufnell Park, N.

Star Chamber Proceedings (Bundle 18, No. 45),
Anno Hen. VIII.

"To the Kyng e o'r Sou'raigne lorde. In hys most humbly wyse sheweth and complayneth unto y'r most excellent highnes yo'r true and ffaithfull orato'r Rob'te Pygott Clerke Vicar of the p'ishe Church of Halowell yn yo'r Countye of ffient in the dyocese of seynt Asse in the p'ties [parts] of North Wales that where yo'r said orator beinge lawfull Vicare of the said Church by lawfull & juste p'sentac'on instituc'on and inducc'on of the reverend ffather in god Henrye nowe byshop of seint asse ordinary of the seid Dyocess and veray true patron of the seid church by vertue whereof your seid orator was possessed and seased in hys Demeane as of fee of and in the seid Veycarege in the right of his seid church and the profets thereof pesably toke most gracious Sov'-raigne Lord unto the xvj day of August last past that one Robert pryor of the monasterye of basingwerke in your seid Countre Thomas — a monke of the seid house Griffith Vaughan, John Pennant, David Pennant, Thomas ap Ryce, Henry ap Kynck ap Penned, Howell ap John Tona, Elys Baghe, and Griffith Mone by the abbettements styrrings and Comandments of Nycholas abbot of the seid monastery of Basingwerke accompanied with diurse oder riottous and evyll disposed p'sons to the number of xxj p'sons and above having Bylles Bowes Stubbes & Swerdes and Bucklers savinge that the seid pryor and the oder monke hadd twoe grett quarter staffes assaulted yo'r seid orator comynge home towarde his seid vycarege brynginge wyth hym such tythes of ottes as yo'r seid orator hadd to hym assigned by the p'ysheng's of the seid church and which of right appertayned unto hym in the rights of his seid Church which seid riottous p'sons the seid tythes with force of armys in Riottous man'r toke from yo'r seid orator and hym chased to a house where he had be slayne and murdered hadd not the well disposed pe'ple of the said p'yshe ayded and rescowed yo'r seid orat'r from the hands and daunger of the seid riottous persons and the seid Riottous p'sons with the seid Riottous Demeano'r and behaviour not contentyd & pleasid most drade Sou'aigne lorde have of their furdur malyce with force entred into the seid Vicarage whych they eu'r syns have kepte and yett Daily doo keep With force and strenght and daily takyth the tithe oblac'ons and all other p'fetts & advantages belonging unto the seid Church to their owen uses by unlawfull abettement comandement and p'curement of the seid Abbott which Abbott saithe and openly reportyd in this Countrey that he wyll kepe the seid benyfyce in his owne handes whosoe'r say to the contrary unto as his fader being abbot ther dyd before such tyme as hys bastard son shalbe able to possesse and occupye and onioye the seid vicarage to the Werse & evyll example

that of late Dayes hath ben seene in those p'tyes and to the most worse and p'ilous boldeness of all yo'r true and well demeanyd subietts ther abydinge if speedy remedy and reformac'on be [not] p'vyded in this behalfe In considerac'on whereof myght yt please yo'r highness of yo'r most aboundaing grace the p'mysse consider yt to graunte seu'rall wryttes of Suppenna dyrectyd as well unto the seid Aboot, Gryffith Vaugh'n, John Pennant, D'd Pennant, Thomas ap Ryce, Henry ap Kynck ap Pennedd, Howell John Tona, and Elys Baghe, as all oder the above named riotous p'sons com'anding them and eu'ry of them p'sonally to apper before yo'r Highness and the lords of yo'r most honorable Councell in the Starr Chamber at Westm' at a certen day and under a certen payne by yo'r Highness to be lymytted ther to make answer to the p'mysse and further to abyde all such Orders as then by yo'r Highness shalbe taken in the p'mysse and yo'r seid Subgiett shall daily pray."

*"Th' answer of Gryffyth Vaghan to the byll of Co'playnte
of Robert Pygott, Clerk.*

"The seid Gryfth seyth that the seid byll of Co'playnte ys incerten & insufficyent in the lawe to be Aunsweryd unto—And untruly Imagyned of Mallice, to the Intent to put the seid Defendant to Injust repa'cyon, Costs and expenses—And for Aunswer the Seid Gryfth Seyth, that as to any ryott, unlawfull assembly, assaute, Baterye, procurement or com'aundement to the same, or any other matter or thyng Surmysed by the Seid byll of Co'playnte to be Commytted or done by the seid defend'nt, agenst the peace or Lawes of oure Sov'eygne Lord the Kyng, thereunto the Seyd defend'unt Seyth that he ys not thereof ne of any p'te therof Gylty—And as Concernyng the spolyacyon of the seid vycarage, thereunto the seid defendant seyth that yf yt were trew as yt ys not, yet yt ys matter det'mynable and ought to be determyned in the Courte Spyrytuall by the Order of the spyrytuall Law, within the Cuntre of North Wales, & not in thys honorable Courte, Whereunto the seid defendant prayeth to be remytted, and as to all the resydew of the surmyses Conteyned in the seid surmysed byll, yf they were trew as they be not, yet they, and eu'y of theym, ben matt'rs Det'mynable and owght to be det'myned by the order of the Com'on Law within the same Cuntre of North Wales; thereunto the said Defendant prayeth to be remytted, All whych matters the seid Griffith Vaghan ys reddey to prove as thys honorable Courte Wyll awarde, and prayeth to be dysmysyd oute of the same w'th hys reasonable Costs & expences for his Wrongfull reparacyon and troble Susteyned in hys behalff."

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS NEAR ST. MELLON'S.—One day during the third week in May 1892, Mr. Thomas Evans, of Coed y Clorian, whilst ploughing in one of the fields on his farm, was fortunate enough to turn up an earthenware crock containing about eight

hundred coins of Roman Emperors of the third century A.D., amongst them being those of Valerianus (A.D. 254), Gallienus (A.D. 260), Claudius (A.D. 268), and Aurelianus (A.D. 270). Coed y Clorian is situated in Glamorganshire, two miles west of St. Mellon's¹ and 3½ miles north of Cardiff, on the west bank of a small stream called Nant Dulas, which runs into the Rumney River just below the farm. The crock was imbedded in the breast of a hill, just on the line of an old watercourse, and it is probable that the water had washed away a great part of the soil, bringing the crock near the surface. The top of the vessel had been ploughed away on some previous occasion, and only the lower part was now found perfect, what remained of it measuring about 6 ins. in diameter at the top, 3 ins. at the bottom, and 5 ins. high. The vessel was of black ware unornamented.

The coins are what are technically known as "third brass", and were of the current value of one-fourteenth of the Roman *denarius*, or penny. Only about three hundred of the coins are in a good state of preservation. There appears to be a good chance that this remarkable find will be secured for the Cardiff Museum.—*Condensed from the Western Mail of May 27th and 31st.*

BRITISH SAINTS. (*To the Editor of the "Archæologia Cambrensis."*)
—SIR,—I have thought that a list of British saints that appear in old Welsh almanacks would not be uninteresting to your readers. Awhile ago I was staying with my friend, the Rev. Evan Evans, M.A., Rector of Llanfihangel-yng-nghwnfa, Montgomeryshire, and he had just discovered among his effects several old Welsh almanacks, which he called my attention to. I saw that they contained much curious matter, and Mr. Evans kindly copied out for my use every part that I expressed a wish to possess, and he went to the great trouble of copying the various lists of saints in these almanacks, and so important do I consider this list to be that I transcribe it and send it to you for publication.

My friend heads his list with the following remarks: "Rhestr o'r Hen Seintiau Cymreig wedi ei chodi o Hen Almanacau am y Blynnyddoedd 1690, 1701, 1709. Nid oes yr un o honynt yn gyflawn ond rhyngddynt maent yn cynnwys holl Fisoedd y Flwyddyn." These words rendered into English read thus:

"A list of the old Welsh saints taken out of old almanacks for the years 1690, 1701, and 1709. Not one of these almanacks is perfect, but between them they contain all the months in the year."

Mr. Evans states that the almanack for 1690 contains September, October, November, and December; that for 1701, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, and December; whilst that for 1709 contains January, February, March, May, June, July, August, and September.

I will give the names of the saints in three columns, as this plan will be useful for comparison.

¹ St. Mellon's is in Monmouthshire, on the opposite side of the Rumney River.

Almanack, 1709.

Ionawr (January)
Dydd y mis (day of
the month)

- 2 Bodfan
- 3 Erech
- 7 Ced, Esgob
- 12 Llwechaern
- 13 Gwyl Ælian
- 14 Ilar
- 24 Cattwng
- 31 Mihangel

Chwefror (February)

- 1 Sanffraid
- 28 Libio

Mawrth (March)

- 1 Gwyl Dewi
- 3 Non fam Dewi
(Non, David's mother)
- 5 Caron
- 7 Sonan
- 14 Caudyn, Merthyr
(Caudyn, martyr)
- 17 Padric Wyddel
- 29 Aeldred, g.

Ebrill yn eisiau
(April lacking)

Mai (May)
4 G. felangell

- 13 Mael a Sulien
(Mael and Sulien)
- 16 Granog
- 21 Collen
- 27 Mihangel

Mehefin (June)

- 1 Tecla
- 15 Trillo
- 16 Cwrig a Elidr
(Cwrig and Elidr)
- 17 Mylling

Gorphenaf (July)

- 4 Peblig
- 6 Erful, Sanctus
- 14 Garmon
- 16 Cynllo

Almanack, 1701.

Almanack, 1690.

Mawrth

- 1 Dewi
- 7 Sannan
- 13 Tudur
- 15 Wynebog
- 17 Padrig Wyddel
(Patrick Irishman)

Ebrill

- 6 Llywelyn
- 7 Gwrnerth
- 16 Padarn
- 21 Beuno, Dyfnog
- 30 Pedro (? Pedrog)

Mai

- 16 Granog
- 21 Collen
- 27 Melangell, Garmon

Mehefin

- 4 Hedrog (?)
- 21 Alban
- 27 Armon, Mihangel

Gorphenaf

- 11 Gower, Bened
- 14 Garmon
- 17 Cynllo
- 31 Germon

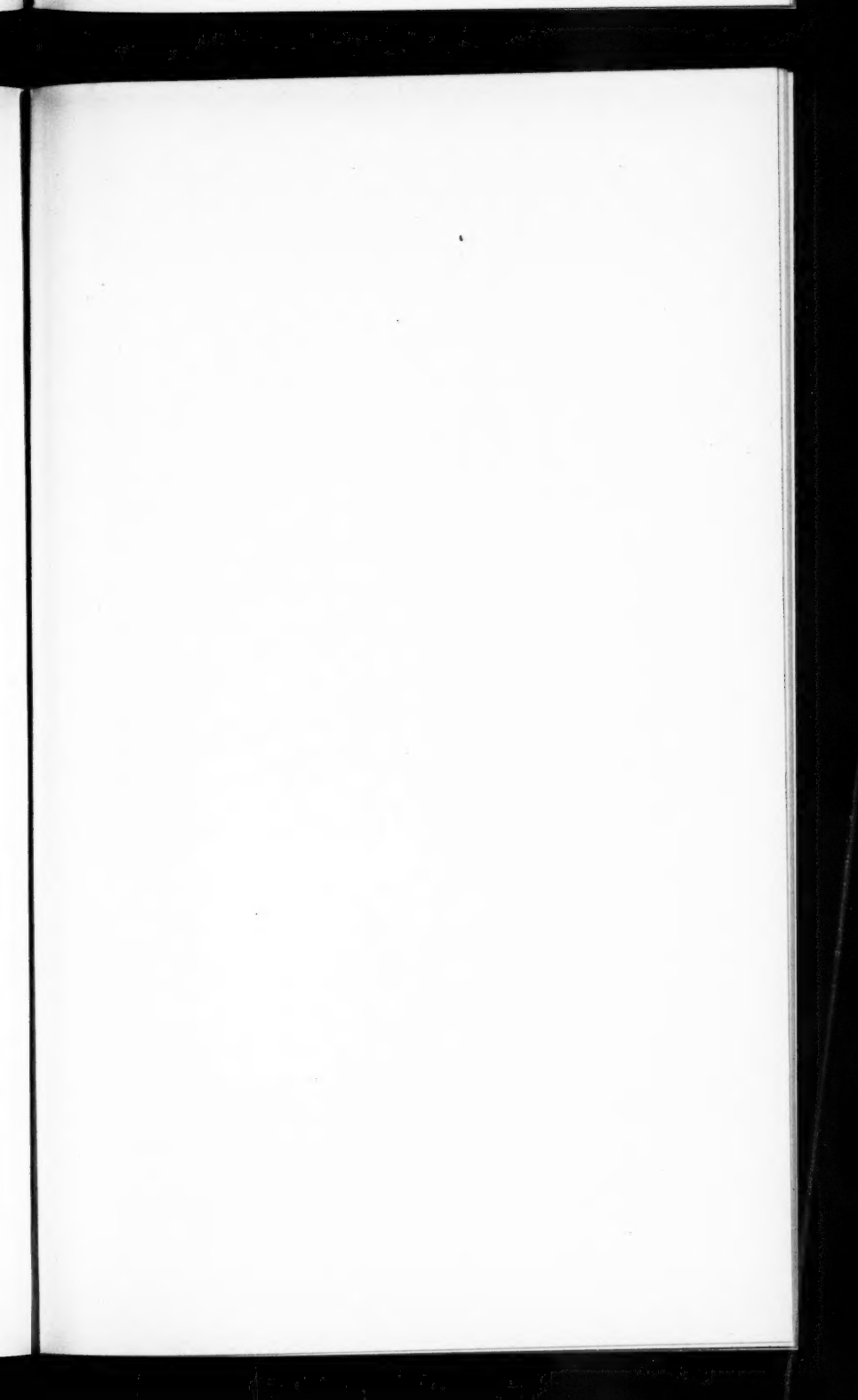
Almanack, 1709.	Almanack, 1701.	Almanack, 1690.
<i>Awst</i> (August)	<i>Awst</i>	
8 Illog o hirniant		
22 Gwyddelan	22 Gwyddelan	
29 Teila for. (virgin)		
<i>Medi</i> (September)	<i>Medi</i>	<i>Medi</i>
1 Silin	1 Silin	1 Silin
2 Sulien	2 Sulien	2 Sulien
5 Marchell	4 Erddulad	4 Erddul
6 Idlos	5 Marchell	5 Marchell
9 Delwfyw	9 Delwfyw	6 Idlos
19 Gwenfrefwy	19 Gwenfrewy	9 Delwfyw
22 Morus	22 Morus	13 Telemog
24 Tecla forwyn (Tecla Virgin)	24 Tecla	24 Tecla forwyn
30 Nidan	25 Meugan	
	30 Nidan	30 Nidan
	<i>Hydref</i> (October)	<i>Hydref</i>
	7 Marchell	1 Gernon
	10 Treffon	6 Flýdd
	14 Talemoc	7 Marcell
	16 Mihangel fach	8 Cynon, Cammar
	24 Cadfarch	10 Triffon
	31 Dogfach	14 Tudur
		15 Mihangel fechan
		20 Gwendolina
		23 Gwynog, Maethan
		24 Cadfarch
		31 Dogfael
	<i>Tachwedd</i> (November)	<i>Tachwedd</i>
	12 Cadwalad, Padarn	3 Cristiolus, Clydog
	14 Cadfael Meilic	6 Cyngor, Cynfar
	15 Marchudd	7 Tysilio
	17 Huw, Afan	12 Cadwalad, padarn
	27 Allgof	14 Cadfrael
		15 Neilog
		21 Digain
		22 Dyniolen
		27 Allgof
		29 Sadwrnyn
	<i>Rhagfyr</i> (December)	<i>Rhagfyr</i>
	1 Grwst, Llechid	1 Grwst
	2 Llechid	2 Llechid
		5 Gawrda
	12 Llewelyn	12 Llewelyn
		15 Annan, Asar
	17 Tydecho	17 Tydecho

Such are the names given in these old almanacks. In sending them to you for publication I have done all that I intended to do, but the fact cannot be hidden that there are certain interesting questions which may be raised from a perusal of these lists.

I am, etc.,

ELIAS OWEN.

Efenechtyd Rectory, Ruthin.





OGAM-INSCRIBED STONE AT LEWANNICK, CORNWALL.

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$ full size.

AN OGAM STONE AT LEWANNICK, IN CORNWALL.—It has always been a matter of some surprise that no monument bearing an Ogam inscription has hitherto been found in Cornwall, as in the adjoining county of Devon there are two; one from Fardel, now in the British Museum, and another from Buckland Monachorum, now at Tavistock.¹ I am therefore now extremely glad to be able to report the discovery of such a stone in the churchyard of Lewannick. This place is situated about five miles south-west of Launceston. The stone stands on the south side of the churchyard, near a large tree. No doubt the readers of this *Journal* will recollect that the church was destroyed by fire in January 1890, and although since its rebuilding it has been visited by numbers of people, it is remarkable that no person has observed the characters on the stone. Even the old sexton informed me that he had never heard that it had attracted the notice of anyone.

The stone is a rectangular block of granite, which is apparently deeply buried. The front is curved slightly inwards from top to bottom, and a portion of the back is split off in a similar manner to the "Other Half Stone" at St. Cleer,² and there is also a vertical fracture at the top. With the assistance of the sexton and a friend who accompanied me, I dug out the earth to a depth of 18 ins.—a matter of some difficulty, owing to the roots of the tree—but no further traces of Ogams were found lower than about 9 ins. below the surface. The height of the stone above the ground is 4 ft., the width varies from 1 ft. 3 ins. to 1 ft. 5 ins., the greatest width being in the middle. Where the size of the upper portion of the stone is reduced by the piece being broken off it is 5½ ins. thick; the remainder is 9 ins. thick.

In addition to the Ogams there is an inscription in Latin capitals which is quite distinct. It is cut in four horizontal lines, and reads thus :

INCEN

VI

MEM

ORIA

The Ogams are cut on the right-hand angle of the stone, and appear to read from the bottom upwards, as follows :

I G E N A V I M E M O R

This is merely a repetition of the Latin legend.³ There is no difficulty about the reading as far as *AVI*, but after this it becomes more obscure. The unusual position of the first two strokes of the final *x*

¹ Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, Nos. 24 and 25.

² *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xlv, p. 325.

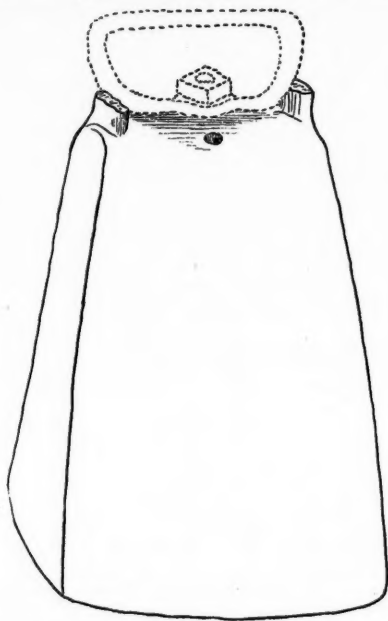
³ The only differences being that the Ogam inscription begins IG instead of INC, the A of AVI is missing in the Latin version, and the final IA in the Ogams.

may be explained by the necessity of avoiding cutting the initial I of the Latin inscription. The remaining strokes slope the right way after this difficulty had been got over. It is to be hoped that Prof. Rhys will give some notes on the inscriptions in the October number of the *Journal*.

ARTHUR G. LANGDON.

[It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to point out that Mr. Langdon's discovery is the most important of its kind that has been made for many years.—Ed.]

CELTIC BELL FROM LLANGYSTENYN.—There is a cast bronze bell in the Powys-land Museum to which considerable interest attaches, as it possesses all the typical features of an ancient Celtic bell. The



bell is represented in the above outline sketch, quarter-size. It is 8 in. high, inclusive of the stumps or remains of the handle, which is broken off, and which stumps rise about half an inch above the top of the bell. The body of the bell is thus $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, and $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. across the mouth, tapering to 4 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. across the top. The thickness of the metal is about a quarter of an inch; but at the mouth there is a thickening in the form of a slight bevel of the outer edge. The stumps, or remains of the handle, rise almost straight from the two narrow sides of the bell.

The loop, represented in the sketch by dotted lines, is of iron, and is attached to the bell by an iron rod, which passes through the bell, and to which is hung an iron tongue. This and the iron loop are evidently modern additions.

There are two holes pierced through the top of the bell, by which probably the original clapper was hung. There is a crack running up about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. from one of the narrow sides of the bottom of the bell. In other respects it seems in perfect condition. When struck by the tongue it produces a deep sound.

On the 27th of January 1891 this bell was offered for sale to the Secretary of the Powys-land Club. He replied stating what he was prepared to give on behalf of the Powys-land Museum. On the 14th of March his offer was accepted. The purchase-money was provided by a small subscription, to which our late much lamented President¹ (the Earl of Powis), Mr. A. C. Humphreys Owen, Mr. Richard Williams, Mr. Murray Brown, and Mr. M. C. Jones contributed.

The following letter from the Rev. Elias Owen gives an account of the finding of the bell:—

“Efenechtyd Rectory, Ruthin, 27th June 1891.

“My dear Sir,—You ask me to give you an account of the finding of Llangystennyn Bell. I have not much to say on the matter. On my first visit to the parish school, which is a new building, I was struck by the bell, which was suspended halfway up the gable end of the school, and from its appearance I knew that its date was from the earliest times of Christianity.

“Upon inquiry, the Rev. Rees Jones, then Curate of that parish, but at present Vicar of Llansantffraid, near Corwen, informed me that the bell at one time belonged to the old parish church, which has been supplanted by another building, and that on the erection of the school the old, unused bell was placed where I saw it, not for protection, but to avoid the expense of a new bell to call the children to school. The rope, however, broke, or otherwise there was a mishap, and consequently the bell was used only for a short time in its new home, and to this fact it owes its preservation.

“Knowing the value of this relic of former days, I there and then endeavoured to take such steps as would lead to its safe custody; but the attempt failed, and ever since the erection of the school, some twelve years ago, the bell was uncared for, and ran great risks of being cracked, if not broken, by being made a target for the stones of the school-children.

“I heartily congratulate you on at last finding, in the Powys-land Museum at Welshpool, a fitting resting-place for this church bell, which carries the mind back upwards of a thousand years.

“I am, with kind regards, yours very truly,

“ELIAS OWEN.”

¹ The cheque was received from the Earl of Powis on the 16th of April, and on the same day was verbally acknowledged by the Secretary to his Lordship whilst in the train in Shrewsbury Station, just twenty-two days before his lamented death on the 8th of May.

The Vicar of the parish, the Rev. William Davies, wrote that he was not able to give much information respecting the old bell. He adds:

"Our Parish Clerk says that it was the church bell up to the rebuilding of the church in 1843. It was afterwards kept at the Rectory until it was put up as a school bell when the schoolroom was built—about fourteen years ago. If I can find any further facts concerning it I will let you know. It is hardly likely that it was originally a church bell, but a handbell for some special purpose. I thank you for the cheque."

The Rev. Rees Jones, in reply to our inquiries, wrote the following letter, which gives the oral tradition, and although all his conclusions may not be concurred in, will afford a record, not without value, of what was said fifty years ago.

"Rectory, Carrog, Corwen, 7 July 1891.

"Dear Sir,—I heard, when I was curate of Llangystenyn, that the old church was the smallest and oldest in North Wales, giving accommodation to about forty. That was pulled down in 1843, and a much larger church built on the same foundation, with a new bell; the old bell was taken to the Rectory, from thence it was taken by me and hung up at the end of the new schoolroom. At that time there was a good deal of talk in the neighbourhood about the old church and the old bell; and the church and the bell, I was informed, were coeval, the foundation-stone of the former having been laid by a Welsh princess, who married one of the Constantines. So far I believe that oral tradition in this case, though not supported, so far as I know, by written evidence; it is quite reliable, but whether this Constantine was the son of the *great* first Christian Emperor, part of whose dominion was Great Britain, about the beginning of the fourth century, who supported his pretensions by many victories in Great Britain, is not at all certain.

"The general belief is that the old church was built about 338 A.D. If so, then the foundation stone was laid by the second Christian Emperor.

"The bell was quite sound when I first saw it. It got cracked by ill-usage at the school. It may be asked, and it ought to be asked, Why did a great Emperor alight on an outlandish locality like that at Llangystenyn? It is so now, but not so then, for just above the church there was then a very large monastery. The evidence in support of this theory or supposition is, I think, very strong.

"1. There are about thirty very old yew-trees in the wood just behind the church.

"2. A few hundred yards off there is a village called Mochdre (in full, Mynach-dre), *i.e.*, Monks' town. It is also said, I think on good ground, that just above Llangystenyn Church is the warmest little nook in North Wales in winter. If so, the monks would be there without fail, and the Emperor coming from abroad to this

country would of course pay them a visit, which, in my opinion, fully accounts for the fact that the church is called after his name.

"The bell was given by the Princess, not by the Emperor, so it is supposed.

"I shall be glad to answer any further questions.

"I remain, yours very truly,

(Signed)

"REES JONES.

"M. C. Jones, Esq., Gungrog Hall."

In a subsequent letter of 10th July 1891, the Rev. Rees Jones further states:

"I believe the tradition I have given you is of value, for I had it from old people, about the year 1874, who are now dead. . . . I would sooner accept simple oral tradition of any locality on a subject like this as truth, than any written statement, however old, for it would probably be varnished with a colour of the writer's choice. You can find out which of the Christian Emperors did marry a Welsh princess. There is the ruin of a military camp on the top of a hill (Dinas), within half-a-mile of the Church. . . . The old monastery on one side and the camp on the other are living monuments, bearing testimony to the truthfulness of the tradition that one of the great Constantines was there, and the church dedicated to him in memory of his visit."

(From a paper by Mr. M. C. Jones, F.S.A., in the *Montgomeryshire Collections*, vol. xxv, p. 327.)

A BRACE of literary treasures of the first importance to Welsh antiquaries were disposed of the other day in a London sale-room. They comprised no less a gem than an account of the lands and rents of the bishopric of St. David's, made in the year 1516, and entitled *The Black Booke of St. David's*. Not long ago inquiries were made in the columns of that indispensable compilation, *Bye-Gones*, by one of our most active Welsh antiquaries, about the existence of what seems to be this identical document, but with no result. We believe a large number of documents connected with the see of St. David's were handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners upon the formation of that body, and that amongst them is a *comptus*, or account, of much the same character as that already described, but of an earlier date. The year 1516 comes within the episcopate of Bishop Edward Vaughan, of whom the historians of the see have found very little to relate. Accompanying the MS. of St. David's was a similar account of the possessions of the bishopric of St. Asaph. This bore no date, but was of the sixteenth century, and probably of about the same period as its fellow. In the same lot were two other MSS., apparently having no relation to Wales, one bearing a fine autograph signature of Henry VIII. The whole fell to the bid of the leviathan purchaser, Mr. Bernard Quaritch,

at the considerable figure of £28 10s. We understand Mr. Quaritch was acting for a client, and we are informed that the MSS. have already passed out of his possession. This is a fair specimen of the vicissitudes through which valuable MSS. frequently pass. They disappear for, perhaps, hundreds of years, until their very existence becomes unknown. They then make a hurried appearance in an auction-room, only to return to obscurity, unless they are so fortunate as to become the property of some public institution. We regret that this fate has not befallen these unique and important MSS., but we trust that their new place of abode will become known, and that their contents will soon be placed beyond possibility of loss by their reproduction through the permanent, though prosaic, medium of the printer. We present the idea to the consideration of the Cymmrodorion Records Committee.—*Western Mail*.

THE LATE PROFESSOR E. A. FREEMAN.—We publish, as the frontispiece to the present number of the *Journal*, a portrait of the late Professor E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., reproduced from an excellent photograph by Messrs. Elliott and Fry, who have very kindly given us permission to use it. The sketch below was taken by Mr. Worthington Smith during the Abergavenny meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association. The artist has succeeded in catching the Professor's characteristic attitude when delivering one of his admirably lucid addresses on Gothic architecture.



The Historian of the Norman Conquest
at Castle Monmouthshire
W. Smith del Aug 16. 1874